

# THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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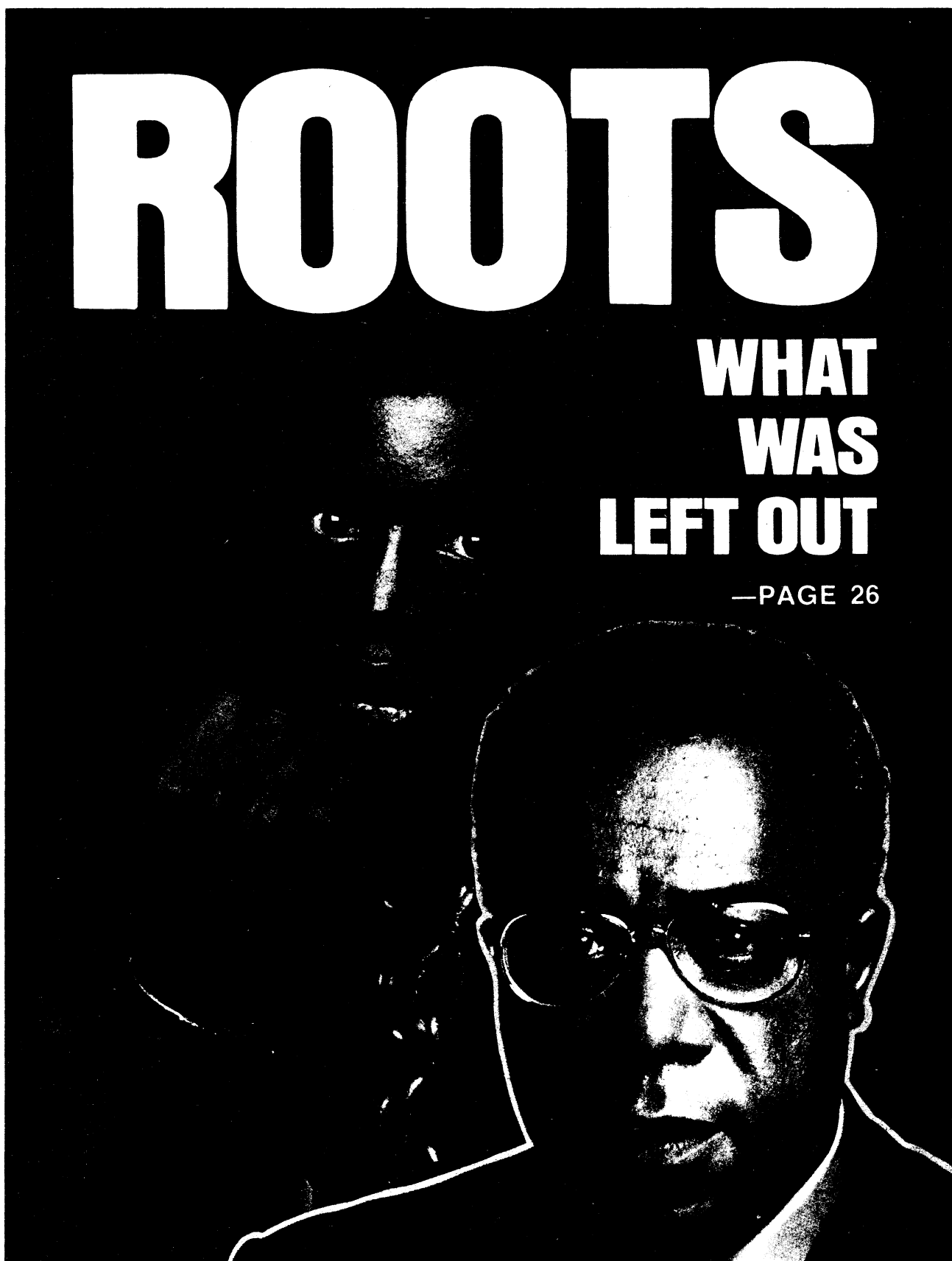
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## THE MILITANT

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**NEW ATTEMPT TO JAIL RUSSELL MEANS:** South Dakota prosecutors are asking the state supreme court to revoke bond on Russell Means, a leader of the American Indian Movement. Means faces no criminal charges now, but is free on bond while appealing a Sioux Falls, South Dakota, frame-up on riot charges. A motion to revoke Means's bond has already been dismissed by a lower court. No date has been set yet for the new bond revocation hearing.

**TAIWAN FOE FIGHTS FOR ASYLUM IN U.S.:** Chris Chiu is appealing in federal court for political asylum in the United States. Chiu, who runs Milwaukee's largest radical bookstore, came to the United States from Taiwan to study at the University of Wisconsin in Milwaukee. After his student visa expired, government officials told him he had to return home or apply for U.S. citizenship. But Chiu turned down both offers, saying he is a Chinese citizen who plans to return home "the day the United States withdraws from Taiwan."

Repressive conditions in Taiwan were highlighted by a February 4 appeal in the *New York Times*. In an open letter to Jimmy Carter, the Formosan Association for Human Rights detailed instances of victimization of opponents of Chiang Ching-kuo's rightist martial-law regime.

Among those signing the appeal were Princeton Prof. Richard Falk; Devi Prasad, former chairperson of War Resisters International, London; Marjorie Swann, American Friends Service Committee; Nobel Prize winner George Wald; Prof. Howard Zinn; and a large number of Formosan civil rights leaders and organizations in the United States.

**COAL MINERS STRIKE:** Up to 14,000 West Virginia coal miners joined in wildcat strikes in mid-February to protest contract violations and vindictive company policies on sick leave. The strike affected ten coal companies and closed most of the mines of Eastern Associated Coal Corporation. Eastern is owned by the Boston-based Eastern Gas & Fuel Associates.

The *Wall Street Journal* reported February 22: "While the United Mine Workers union has quietly tried to discourage strikers, one union official jumped in on the other side. Secretary-Treasurer Harry Patrick, who with others is campaigning to unseat Arnold Miller as UMW president, last week issued a statement saying that Eastern was violating its labor pact and trying to 'punish' miners by making them provide a doctor's certificate if they left work early reporting sick."

**CLP EXEMPT FROM CALIF. DISCLOSURE LAW:** On February 2 the California Fair Political Practices Commission ruled that Communist Labor party candidates should be largely exempt from provisions of a law requiring public disclosure of names, addresses, and occupations of campaign contributors of fifty dollars or more.

The commission ruled three to two that "those who are publicly identified as Communists have a reasonable probability of being subjected to harassment from the FBI and other organizations or individuals, to problems in their employment and sometimes to physical violence or threats of violence. . . ." The commission cited "recent disclosures of harassment occurring in the 1960s and 1970s by federal government agencies against politically unpopular groups" as grounds for its decision. It said the exemption fell within U.S. Supreme Court guidelines prescribed last year to protect small parties that could prove risk of illegal harassment.

**PROTEST KU KLUX KLAN IN TALLAHASSEE:** For the first time in years, the Ku Klux Klan has organized a recruiting parade in downtown Tallahassee, Florida. About 100 Klan members wearing white sheets and hoods showed up February 19.

More than 200 people participated in a counterrally held at the same time on the predominantly Black campus of Florida A & M University. The rally was organized by leaders of the Black community and student organizations, including the Young Socialist Alliance.

In addition, some 1,500 protesters lined the march route of the Klan parade.

**NEW JERSEY STUDENTS FIGHT TUITION HIKES:** One hundred twenty-five New Jersey college students—mainly Blacks and Puerto Ricans—picketed in Newark February 16. They were protesting the proposed elimination of the Education Opportunity Fund (EOF), New Jersey's minority student recruitment program. The students demonstrated outside a meeting of the Booher Commission on Higher Education. Organized by the New Jersey Board of Higher Education, the commission has proposed a new Tuition Assistance Program (TAP). TAP would raise the family income ceiling for tuition assistance eligibility from the present EOF level of \$10,000 to \$17,000 per year.

The picket line was called by the Newark Students Against TAP, a coalition that includes the Rutgers-Newark Student Government, Rutgers Puerto Rican students organization, Rutgers Black Organization of Students, Newark Young Socialist Alliance, and students in the EOF program.

**FATHER KNOWS BEST DEPARTMENT:** According to the February 21 *New York Times*, House Speaker Thomas O'Neill defended the recent 22.4 percent pay hike to Congress by explaining that "sometimes it was in the best interests of the nation for Congress to vote against the will of the people."

Nonetheless, in order to avoid criticism from their financially pressed constituents, the gang of lawyers, businessmen, and other assorted thieves in the House arranged to boost their pay from \$44,600 to \$57,500 annually without even voting on it. The increase took effect automatically after no one in Congress moved to veto it by a February 18 deadline.

**'MS.' REPORTS ON JENNESS TRIP TO SPAIN:** The March issue of *Ms.*, the feminist magazine, carries a report by Marcia Rockwood on the growing women's liberation movement in Spain. Rockwood notes, "Linda Jenness, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party in the United States and recently returned from Spain, says that the Women's Movement there is receiving a tremendous amount of support from a broad base of people."

**CARTER'S PLAN TO CUT RED TAPE:** Jimmy Carter told a group of college educators February 19 that in exchange for their cooperation and help, he would do what he could to ease the burden of paperwork the government requires from them.

Outlines of how the president intends to cut down on red tape became clear the same day, when House Education and Labor Committee Chairperson Rep. Carl Perkins (D-Ky.) "strongly protested" Carter's plans to abolish a \$322 million loan program for college students.

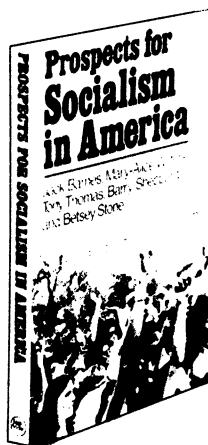
Perkins says that Carter's new budget proposes to end the National Direct Student Loan program. He said this would mean that "hundreds of thousands of working-class families would probably have to terminate the education of their children."

Loan requests now pending under the program total about \$800 million. According to Perkins, students from working-class families make up more than half of those who receive the low-interest loans.

—Peter Seidman

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Carter covers up CIA payoffs

New administration, same old dirty tricks

y Ernest Harsch
The following is from the News analysis section of Intercontinental Press.

In a sensational new disclosure of subversion by the CIA, a front-page article in the February 18 Washington Post revealed that King Hussein of Jordan has been on the spy agency's payroll for twenty years.

Within a day, the names of more than a dozen other prominent foreign political figures said to be recipients of CIA money were published in the press. These included Willy Brandt of West Germany, Luis Echeverría Alvarado of Mexico, Carlos Andrés Pérez of Venezuela, and Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya.

"You name 'em and they got money," was the comment of a former American ambassador familiar with the top-secret payoff operations. According to Washington Post reporter Bob Woodward, the subsidy to Hussein was one of the most closely held and sensitive of all CIA secret operations.

o Beef'

At one point the payments reached a million a year, according to a CIA source cited in the February 19 New York Daily News. In 1976 the amount was reduced to \$750,000. Under the slogan "No Beef," the money was usually delivered to Hussein in cash by the CIA station chief in Amman. According to Woodward, "The payoffs were reported last year to President Ford as an impropriety by



CARTER: Payoffs . . . what payoffs?



HUSSEIN: Payoffs . . . what payoffs?

the Intelligence Oversight Board, a three-member panel set up by Ford to curb CIA abuses.

"President Ford took no steps to stop the covert payments."

Carter ordered a halt to the CIA payments to Hussein after learning of the Washington Post investigation, Woodward reported.

Before the CIA started subsidizing the Hashemite kingdom, Hussein's grandfather, King Abdullah, was the recipient of secret funds from Britain from the time he was installed as emir under British control in 1922 until his assassination in 1951. British payments then continued to Hussein until the CIA took over in 1957.

The imperialists felt they had received value for their money. An intelligence official cited by David Binder in the February 19 New York

Times termed the Hussein-CIA connection a "solid professional relationship," in which Hussein informed on the activities of the Palestinian liberation forces and provided other valuable information to the CIA.

Moreover, the expulsion of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) from Jordan and the killing of as many as ten thousand Palestinians, most of them refugees, by Hussein's forces in September 1970 was a major blow to the Palestinian struggle for self-determination. Hussein has also been openly conciliatory toward Washington's Israeli client state and refused to participate in the October 1973 war with Israel.

The revelations of direct CIA backing to Hussein come at a time when Washington and Cairo are trying to pressure the PLO into agreeing to

some form of "declared link" with Jordan as a prelude to a new round of Middle East talks in Geneva. In fact, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance met with Hussein in Amman the same day the Washington Post story broke.

In an attempt to minimize the impact of the revelations on U.S. interests in the Middle East, White House press secretary Jody Powell refused to comment directly on the disclosures. Instead he read a statement to reporters February 18 that merely said, "King Hussein is an outstanding national leader. He and his Government have played a constructive role in reducing tensions in the Middle East."

When pressed by reporters, Powell refused to say whether Carter thought that the payments were "improper" or to confirm whether they had been made at all.

Another promise scrapped

Carter's attempt to cover up the first major exposé of CIA dirty tricks since he became president is in marked contrast to his promises during the election campaign that he would conduct an "open" foreign policy.

In February 1976, for instance, Carter was quoted as saying, "If the C.I.A. ever makes a mistake, I'll be the one, as President, to call a press conference, and I'll tell you and the American people, this is what happened, these are the people who violated the law, this is the punishment I recommend, this is the corrective action that needs to be taken, and I promise you it won't happen again."

These fine words may well ring in his ears for some time to come. The exposure of CIA payments to Hussein has grown into a flood of revelations of how Washington buys off governments and officials around the world.

Continued on page 30

On the Upper West Side of Manhattan

by Louis Proyect

NEW YORK—On an untypically mild February Saturday morning, twenty-two members and supporters of the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance on the Upper West Side of Manhattan kicked off the Militant sales drive with bang.

We sold 130 papers that day, February 12, and in

tion of Malcolm X to the person who stayed out the longest.

Candace Wagner, a party member who is also sales director for the New York City Young Socialist Alliance, won the prize for most sales.

Peter Ember and Dede Jedrzejowska tied for the second prize, and each received a copy of the book.

As sales director for the branch, I dispatched teams to busy street corners on Broadway near our branch headquarters and to Harlem.

When the teams returned, they reported that the easiest way to sell the paper was to talk to people about the articles in the Militant that were of particular interest to the predominantly Black and Latino community surrounding the headquarters. For example, the article on FBI links to the assassination of Malcolm X raised quite a bit of interest in Harlem.

But street-corner selling is just one approach socialists on Manhattan's Upper West Side are using. We are also going door-to-door in a nearby housing project where we sold a large number of Militant subscriptions last fall.

We also went to the most important political events in our area. Two party members sold twenty

You can help

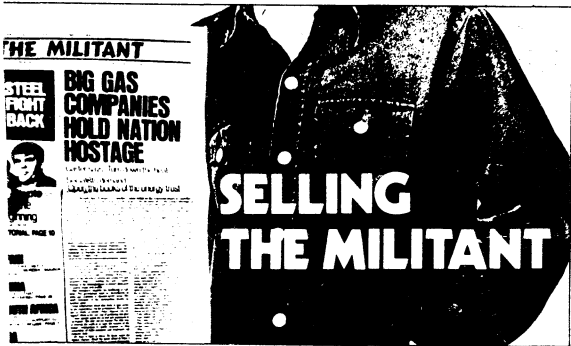
YOU CAN HELP the Militant make its goal of selling 10,000 or more a week by ordering a bundle of five or more at twenty-five cents each. Order from: Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

copies of the paper at a women's film festival at Barnard College.

I sold at a meeting on South Africa featuring Stokely Carmichael at Columbia University.

One of the things we socialists want to do through the sales campaign is win new members to the socialist movement. We made a start on that the first week of the drive, when Mary Jo Vogel, organizer of the SWP on the Upper West Side, sold a Militant to a young Black woman at City College of New York.

Vogel and the woman got into a discussion of what socialists stand for. The woman discovered that she agreed with the socialists. She is now considering joining the Young Socialist Alliance chapter at CCNY.



six following days sold another 117—a total of 247. That was just shy of our goal of 250. It was only three times as many as we had been selling in the past few weeks.

Socialists sold the Militant at workplaces, on street corners, in housing projects, on the campuses, and at political events.

This first week of the national sales drive coincided with the launching of the socialist campaign of Catarino Garza for mayor.

The Militant carried an article on the first few days of his campaign, so every paper sold helped inform New Yorkers about the alternative to the back policies of the Democrats and Republicans. The Upper West Side branch of the SWP decided at if we were to reach our goal of 250, all members would need to participate.

We decided to stimulate interest in sales by giving a copy of Farrell Dobbs's book Teamster Politics to a top salesperson and a copy of The Assassina-

Sales scoreboard

Area	Goal	Sold	%	Los Angeles	650	509	78.3	San Jose	200	109	54.5
Phoenix	100	108	108.0	Dallas	100	75	75.0	Tacoma, Wash.	70	35	50.0
				Portland, Ore.	200	149	74.5	Milwaukee	250	119	47.6
Indianapolis	100	107	107.0	Kansas City, Mo.	100	72	72.0	Baltimore	150	71	47.3
San Diego	250	255	102.0	Berkeley, Calif.	250	179	71.6	Houston	400	182	45.5
Newark	225	229	101.8	Miami	75	49	65.3	Philadelphia	400	180	45.0
Louisville	125	125	100.0	Salt Lake City	100	65	65.0	Cleveland	200	83	41.5
New York City	1,100	1,080	98.2	Atlanta	400	257	64.3	Minneapolis	300	116	38.7
San Antonio	125	110	88.0	New Orleans	200	125	62.5	Detroit	440	136	30.9
Raleigh, N.C.	40	35	87.5	San Francisco	550	343	62.4	Denver	200	59	29.5
Oakland, Calif.	225	195	86.7	Pittsburgh	175	105	60.0	Chicago	650	187	28.8
St. Louis	300	251	83.7	Albany, N.Y.	75	44	58.7	St. Paul	80	21	26.3
Richmond, Va.	75	62	82.7	Washington, D.C., Area	400	228	57.0				
Cincinnati	125	102	81.6		Toledo	100	55	55.0	Total,		
Boston	530	420	79.2	Seattle	215	118	54.9	Feb. 18 issue	10,000	6,750	67.5



## 'Ipi Tombi' debate

# How to counter S. African propaganda

By Earl Williams

NEW YORK—Opponents of white minority rule recently scored a victory against South Africa's propaganda offensive in the United States. The South African musical *Ipi Tombi* has closed here after little more than a month's run.

Nightly picket lines outside the Harkness Theater were organized by the Emergency Committee to Protest the South African Production of *Ipi Tombi*. Picketers successfully urged enough playgoers to boycott the musical to put its financial backers in the red.

*Ipi Tombi* and the protests against the play became the center of a storm of controversy in this city. Commentators and stage critics in the *Wall Street Journal* and *New York Times* attacked the picket lines. They tried to picture the play as something other than proapartheid propaganda.

The debate over the *Ipi Tombi* boycott spilled over into the ranks of supporters of Black majority rule. In its January 20 issue, the *New York Times* ran articles for and against the boycott.

*Earl Williams is a member of the New York local of the Socialist Workers party. He was an active participant in the Emergency Committee to Protest the South African Production of Ipi Tombi.*

Two of these articles stand out because they raise important questions of tactics in the movement against U.S. involvement in southern Africa.

One article was submitted by the Patrice Lumumba Coalition (PLC), a grouping of Pan-Africanist organizations in New York. Along with the Socialist Workers party, the PLC was singled out for special attack by the Harkness Theater management.

In its article, the PLC defends the *Ipi Tombi* boycott. But in doing so, it incorrectly focuses its fire on the all-Black cast of the musical.

"The 25 member cast cannot be allowed to ignore the plight of their brethren who are valiantly waging a heroic and bloody struggle against overwhelming odds. . . .

"We will continue to oppose," they write, "those of our people who perform as puppets for our mutual enemies."

This hostile approach to the cast—all of whom are South Africans—was reflected in how the PLC participated on the picket line itself. While urging people to boycott the play, PLC members referred to the cast as "zombies" and "cultural mercenaries."

### Proapartheid propaganda

Such an approach shifts the focus of the protest away from opposition to the play's proapartheid propaganda.

Moreover, it reflects a callousness to the situation members of the cast find themselves in. Undoubtedly they had little choice in whether or not to come. And undoubtedly they would have been victimized by the apartheid regime had they refused to perform and returned to South Africa.

Some members of the London cast who protested the wretched wages they were receiving refused to return to South Africa for fear of their safety.

So whether or not to perform in the play is something the cast members had to decide for themselves. But deciding to go ahead with their performances didn't make them "zombies" or "cultural mercenaries."

In another article in the *Black American*, Herbert Vilakazi argues against such treatment of the cast. But in doing so, he condemns the picket and boycott as well.

Vilakazi is a South African professor of sociology at Essex County College in Newark, New Jersey. He was an eyewitness to the June 16 Soweto student rebellion and is an active supporter of Black majority rule.

The questions he raises about tactics in the movement here deserve special attention.

"My quarrel with the picketers in front of the theatre who are urging people not to walk in to see the show. . . ,” writes Vilakazi, “is that these are all *dangerously wrong tactics*, by people who, in the main, have *good intentions*. The issue here is of the



'Ipi Tombi' picket at Harkness Theater in New York

Militant/Barry Cha

tactics in the struggle and not the struggle itself."

He then goes on to condemn the attacks on the cast shouted by some participants in the picket lines. But nowhere in the article does Brother Vilakazi take up the main question—the nature of the play itself as part of the propaganda offensive of the South African government.

Even those reviewers and commentators who opposed the picket lines and tried to cover up for the play could not claim the musical was even a remote reflection of reality in South Africa.

A reviewer for the *New York Post*, Martin Gottfried, got more to the point. "A show consisting entirely of black South African natives and their music, coming from South Africa and inferentially sponsored by it," he wrote, "is comparable to a Yiddish vaudeville troupe touring out of Nazi Germany: victims are being shown off by their brutalizers."

### Why a boycott?

The question of boycotting the play, as Vilakazi points out, is a tactical question. I think the picket and boycott were useful in carrying out one of the main tasks confronting antiracist activists in this country—educating the majority of the American people on the racist nature of the southern African regimes.

The picket line was a protest against the propaganda offensive of the racist regime in South Africa, which wants to portray apartheid as a system Black South Africans accept.

The picketing was successful in doing that in two ways. At its height we drew some 500 people to the picket lines. In the biting cold of this winter, these were some of the largest antiapartheid demonstrations in recent times.

Here was something immediate that opponents of racism could do together and have an impact.

### Counterpropaganda

Secondly, the number of people we turned away through our *counterpropaganda*—the truth about racist South Africa—grew as word about the play spread. Patrons would cash in their tickets and return holding their money like trophies of triumph and solidarity.

Altogether this gave antiracist activists a sense of confidence and accomplishment that will spur further actions.

All who participated would agree we can "change the course of mighty rivers."

At one point in his article Brother Vilakazi says, "The struggle to liberate South Africa is *first and foremost* the struggle of Black South Africans *inside* South Africa. It is not the struggle of Americans, black or white . . . [nor] of Black South Africans . . . outside South Africa."

He goes on to say that antiracist activists should concentrate on raising funds for food, shelter, and arms, rather than "agitating for the closing of the show."

Vilakazi also says, "The best way that revolutionaries of different countries can be of help to one

another is by spending most of their time working for revolution where they are."

While Brother Vilakazi is of course correct that Black South Africans will play the key role liberating their country, he underestimates the role of international aid and support from Washington and other governments in maintaining the racist regime.

Without the aid received from the United States, Great Britain, France, and the rest of the imperialist world, the apartheid regime could not stand.

We in this country have a duty to build a movement capable of forcing Washington to withdraw its military and economic aid to South Africa and forcing U.S. corporations to pull out. Doing this is the most valuable concrete aid Americans can give to the struggle for Black majority rule.

The anti-Vietnam War movement here offers good comparison. Through massive demonstration of up to 1 million people, this movement tied the hands of the warmakers in Washington and finally forced the withdrawal of U.S. troops.

Such a movement is needed today in solidarity with the South African freedom struggle.

But how do we begin to build such a movement? During the first years of the Vietnam War, the movement was relatively small. But through teach-ins, picket lines, and demonstrations, antiwar activists were able to win the majority of the American people to their point of view.

Actions like the picket line at Harkness Theater help in the process of building such a movement around South Africa.

### What focus?

Vilakazi seems to counterpose raising funds for refugees to building this kind of mass movement.

While material aid of this sort is a legitimate expression of solidarity with the fight for Black majority rule, the focus of the movement must be the complicity of our own government. Opponents of white minority rule here cannot let Washington off the hook.

Helping to build the movement against U.S. complicity is also an important part of building a revolutionary movement in this country. Many activists quickly come to recognize that the U.S. government's foreign policy is no accident, that it is a conscious policy designed to protect American business abroad.

Some of these activists come to see the need for socialist transformation of U.S. society and join revolutionary organizations like the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance.

The debate over the boycott of *Ipi Tombi* reflects a larger debate going on among activists in the movement in support of Black majority rule. Part of building that movement is hammering out the most effective approach and tactics.

But most important is united action against Washington's role in southern Africa. Building the March 25-26 actions called by the National Student Coalition Against Racism should be the top priority of all antiracist activists.



## NSCAR's Africa campaign under way

# Protests to demand: 'Black majority rule!'

By John Hawkins

Antiracist activists from across the country will gather in New York February 26 for a steering committee meeting of the National Student Coalition Against Racism. Discussion at the meeting will center on NSCAR's campaign to get the United States out of southern Africa.

At its national conference in Boston this fall, NSCAR launched an ambitious slate of activities to support the fight for Black majority rule in southern Africa.



TONY AUSTIN

Militant/Lou Howort

The conference initiated Africa protest demonstrations for March 25-26, the week of the seventeenth anniversary of the 1960 Sharpeville massacre in South Africa.

The conference also decided to organize nationwide tours for Tsietsi Mashinini and Khotso Seatlholo, leaders of student demonstrations in the Johannesburg township of Soweto last June (see box).

Tony Austin, NSCAR national coordinator, told the *Militant* that sentiment opposing the U.S. role in southern Africa is running high.

"One thing that is a good barometer of this sentiment," said Austin, "is the number of conferences and other activities that are taking place around the country. Beginning with the NSCAR conference last fall, we've seen an increase in activity around U.S. complicity.

"This spring there will be a number of conferences to discuss what to do to get the U.S. out of southern Africa."

The National Black Political Assembly, for example, has announced a conference for the March 18 weekend.

Austin said that the success of the *Ipi Tombi* boycott in New York (see article on facing page) is another indication of the depth of sentiment around southern Africa. "A lot of people got involved in that action," he said, "and got a real feel for what they could accomplish through united action.

"That's important—united action against U.S. complicity.

"That's one reason," Austin said, "that we in NSCAR think that the March 25-26 activities are so important. They can help pull together the various forces opposed to the U.S. role in southern Africa. These actions can send a clear message to Carter: *We want Black majority rule now and an end to U.S. complicity with the white minority regimes.*"

As reported in previous issues of the *Militant*, support for NSCAR's spring actions is growing nationwide. Marches are being planned in a number of cities for Saturday, March 26. Teach-ins and campus protests are being planned for the preceding week.

Austin said that some groups and individuals are taking a wait-and-see attitude toward the Carter administration's approach in southern Africa.

"But a lot of other people," he said, "recognize already that Andrew Young's trip to Africa was no different from Kissinger's trips. Young's visit won't change American policy in southern Africa.

"That policy remains opposed to the interests of Blacks there—to their right to Black majority rule *right now*, not later when some arrangement to Carter's liking can be worked out."

Washington's aim under both Ford and Carter, Austin said, "is to discourage the struggle for Black majority rule in southern Africa, protect American business investments there, and hold on to the area as a military outpost.

"There are more than 250 American corporations with investments in South Africa alone," he said. "They function within the guidelines of the apartheid system. As a matter of fact, many of these corporations pay Black workers there *less* than the subsistence wage level set by the South African government.

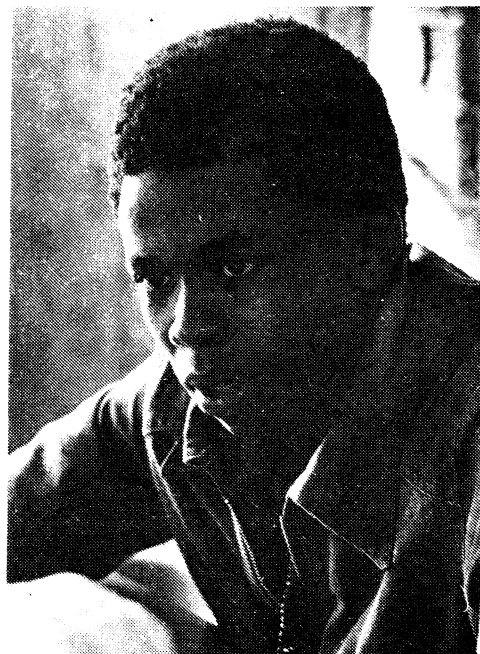
"While a good number of activists in the movement are aware of how U.S. dollars prop up apartheid, we have to let the majority of the American people know about it. The March 25-26 actions will help do that. So will the teach-ins and other activities leading up to those actions—especially the tours of Tsietsi Mashinini and Khotso Seatlholo."

## Soweto leaders will tour US



TSIETSI MASHININI

Militant/Lou Howort



KHOTSO SEATLHOLO

Militant/Susan Ellis

Tsietsi Mashinini and Khotso Seatlholo have begun six-week speaking tours of more than forty major U.S. cities. Both Mashinini and Seatlholo were leaders of the student demonstrations that rocked the Johannesburg, South Africa, suburb of Soweto last June 16.

Mashinini, the first president of the Soweto Students Representative Council, went into exile in London last fall after eluding South African security forces for several weeks following the June 16 actions.

Seatlholo, who remained in South Africa, functioned as president of the SRC after Mashinini's escape. He recently went into exile in Botswana, and has firsthand knowledge of developments since the student upsurge last summer.

Their tour schedules are printed below. For information on the tours contact: NSCAR, 612 Blue Hill Avenue, Dorchester, Massachusetts 02121. Telephone: (617) 288-6200.

### TSIETSI MASHININI

Feb. 27-March 2	Washington, D.C./- Baltimore
March 2	Richmond, Va.
March 3	Raleigh, N.C.
March 4-5	Chicago
March 7	New Orleans
March 8	Houston
March 9	Dallas
March 10	Portland, Ore.
March 11-12	Seattle
March 14	Salt Lake City
March 15	Denver
March 16	Los Angeles
March 17-19	San Francisco Bay Area
March 21	Los Angeles
March 22	San Diego
March 23	San Antonio
March 24-25	Atlanta
March 26-April 3	New York
April 4	Tallahassee, Fla.

### KHOTSO SEATLHOLO

February 27-28	Philadelphia
March 1-5	New England
March 7	Albany, N.Y.
March 8	Cincinnati
March 9	Lexington, Ky.
March 10-11	Cleveland
March 12-15	Detroit/Toledo
March 16	Pittsburgh
March 17	Indianapolis/Bloomington, Ind.
March 18	Louisville
March 21-22	Milwaukee/Madison
March 23	St. Louis
March 24-25	Chicago
March 26-31	New York
April 1-2	Minneapolis
April 3-8	New York

Plans for the Mashinini and Seatlholo tours are going "very well," Austin told the *Militant*. This will be Mashinini's second trip to the United States. He was a speaker at NSCAR's national conference in November.

"These tours will play an important part in getting out the truth about South Africa," Austin said. "Mashinini and Seatlholo will give people in this country a real idea of what life is like in Soweto.

"They'll be discussing the struggles that led up to the June 16 demonstrations. They will also be giving people a feel for what the students were after; how they organized themselves, even under those repressive conditions; how the Students Representative Council was able to involve parents; and how they reached out to workers and even organized strikes in solidarity with the student protests.

"Seatlholo went into exile more recently than Mashinini and has been in Botswana since that time," Austin said. "One thing he will be doing in his talks is giving people an update on what's been going on in South Africa since the June 16 actions.

"The response to the tours has been really encouraging," Austin said. "Black community organizations, NAACP chapters, labor organizations, and student groups are cosponsoring the meetings for the two student leaders in many cities. The tours will be a big help in building the movement against U.S. complicity."

The steering committee meeting will also discuss the recent government attacks on school desegregation, the stepped-up campaign of the Immigration and Naturalization Service against so-called illegal aliens, and the continuing struggle to defend victims of racist frame-ups such as Gary Tyler, Hurricane Carter and John Artis, and the Manzo defendants.

"One thing becomes clearer as each day goes by," said Austin. "The Carter administration is continuing and stepping up the government's racist offensive both nationally and internationally. The fight against racism is an international fight. One week it's Boston, the next week it's Johannesburg. Our job is to help root it out wherever it is."

## March 25-26 protests

To help publicize the March 25-26 protests against white minority rule in southern Africa, NSCAR has prepared a new issue of the *Student Mobilizer* newspaper, as well as fact sheets on U.S. complicity and a new button. Order today!

Send in the coupon below to: NSCAR, 612 Blue Hill Avenue, Dorchester, Massachusetts 02121.

Send me \_\_\_\_\_ "U.S. out of southern Africa! Protest March 25 & 26" buttons. (35 cents each for 10 or more. \$1 for 1.)

Send me \_\_\_\_\_ copies of the *Student Mobilizer*. (8 cents each for 25 or more. 15 cents per copy.)

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

School/Organization \_\_\_\_\_

### STUDENT MOBILIZER

NATIONAL STUDENT COALITION AGAINST RACISM

WINTER 1977

DONATION - 15 CENTS



International Fight Against Racism

# NOW members offer proposal for April convention

## 'A strategy to unite women and fight back'



On April 21-24, the National Organization for Women (NOW) will hold its national conference in Detroit. NOW's last national conference in October 1975 drew 3,000 participants. While the Detroit gathering will be delegated, workshops and other activities for nondelegates promise to attract many members.

The agenda set for the convention includes a full day for discussion of resolutions. We are reprinting below one of the resolutions that has been introduced by NOW members from across the country. This resolution, along with others, is currently being circulated and discussed in NOW chapters as part of the preparations for the convention. The resolution was also discussed at the recent New Jersey NOW conference (see *Militant*, February 18).

The resolution's initiators were Clare Fraenzl, vice-president for liaison of the Philadelphia NOW chapter, and Rhonda Rutherford, also a Philadelphia NOW member. In a letter to the feminist and movement press, they explained:

"We have put forward this resolution because we believe that the women's movement today faces a crisis. Feminist gains are under attack by the government, the right wing, and the Catholic Church hierarchy. A discussion on how we can unite the movement to fight back is urgently needed. Such a discussion is taking place in NOW. We believe it is of interest and importance to the whole feminist movement and we hope it will stimulate similar discussions in other organizations."

In addition to the resolution, we have also excerpted portions of the "motivation" attached to the resolution and have printed the list of the proposal's initial signers.

Coming issues of the *Militant* will be publishing further resolutions and articles about the discussion in NOW.

## Resolution

The November 1975 defeat of state ERAs in New York and New Jersey signaled the beginning of a vicious assault on the gains won by women in the late '60s and early '70s. In recent months the attacks against us escalated dramatically: abortion rights, affirmative action plans, child care, maternity benefits, and the ERA have been dealt severe setbacks.

These attacks hit hardest at working women, especially Blacks, Chicanas, Puerto Ricans, Asians, and Native Americans. It is these sisters who suffer the most from losses of Medicaid funding for abortion or pregnancy disability benefits. In fact, the attacks are aimed at dividing women along economic and racial lines. Afraid to take a powerful,

united women's movement head on, the enemies of women's liberation hope to pit more privileged women against poorer women, employed against unemployed, organized against unorganized. We must recognize this as a deadly trap for the women's movement and reject it.

NOW needs to discuss and develop a strategy for uniting women and our supporters to fight back on a local, state, and national level. The purpose of this resolution is to present ideas for such a strategy.

1. NOW must make its main priority defense of the rights of our Black, Chicana, Puerto Rican, Asian, Native American, and working sisters, rights that are in jeopardy today. These sisters are bearing the brunt of the recent attacks, but the rights of all women are in grave danger.

We need to pay special attention to defense of abortion rights, affirmative action gains, maternity benefits, child care, and ratification of the ERA. Forced sterilization schemes must be vigorously opposed.

Special efforts must be made to mobilize working women—including sisters who are unemployed or on welfare—and women who are victims of discrimination because of race or nationality. These women have the greatest stake in this fight and we should seek to bring them into NOW by the thousands. They are looking for allies and a way to fight back. NOW chapters should work to bring them into our ranks, and aid should be given to those Task Forces trying to reach out to Black, Chicana, Puerto Rican, Asian, Native American, and working women.

2. We must launch a campaign to counter the attacks on women's rights that includes rallies, picket lines, speak-outs and other public events. Where it is possible, NOW chapters should help involve labor unions, civil rights, student, and other groups in these activities around mutually agreed upon goals.

3. The April NOW conference should issue a call for a national demonstration in the fall, like the one held May 16 for the ERA, around all these issues. We should attempt to draw together the broadest possible spectrum of forces to build a show of unity and strength.

4. Historically it is through our own independent movement that women have progressed. We marched, picketed, and spoke out to win the right to vote and legal abortion. Today, as the recent attacks have shown, we cannot sit back and rely on either of the two governing parties, the Democrats or Republicans, to "give" us our long overdue rights. We must build a powerful, united, independent movement of women and supporters of our rights to win our liberation.

## Motivation

The November 1975 defeat of state ERAs in New York and New Jersey signaled the beginning of a vicious attack on the gains won by women in the late '60s and early '70s. These defeats alerted feminists to the fact that the rights we have won cannot be taken for granted. The National Organization for Women responded by mobilizing thousands of equal rights supporters to march for the ERA in Springfield, Illinois, on May 16, 1976. It was the most successful women's rights demonstration in years.

Over the fall of 1976, the attacks against us have mushroomed:

—reactionary forces, including the Catholic Church hierarchy, succeeded in making opposition to legal abortion a central issue in the presidential campaign. Bowing to this massive anti-abortion campaign, and in the absence of a powerful countermobilization by the women's movement, Congress passed the Hyde amendment, cutting off Medicaid funds for abortion. If it is upheld in the courts, the Hyde amendment will deny abortion rights to 300,000 Medicaid recipients each year. Most of these women are Blacks, Chicanas, Puerto Ricans, or poor women. These are the same women who are the prime victims of racist forced sterilization schemes.

The Hyde amendment was a deliberate attack on the poorest women, aimed at dividing the women's movement. The anti-abortion forces clearly hoped that the relatively more privileged women not directly affected by the amendment would not come to the defense of the sisters under attack and would not see this as an assault on the abortion rights of all women. They also hoped to play on the racist sentiments of some women against sisters who have been forced onto welfare.

—the government proposed new guidelines exempting all but 6% of the businesses with government contracts from compliance with federal affirmative action guidelines.

—the December 7 Supreme Court ruling denying pregnancy benefits to General Electric workers threatens tens of thousands of women workers with loss of pay, seniority, or even their jobs in the coming years. Moreover, by making pregnancy a legitimate basis for discrimination, the court has reinforced a central pillar of job discrimination against women—the biological differences between the sexes.

—discriminatory layoffs on the basis of "last hired, first fired" have all but wiped out affirmative action gains. In New York City, for example, 1/3 of all women, 40% of all Black males, and over 50% of all Puerto Ricans were laid off during the '74-'75 cutbacks of city employees. The pattern in private industry is similar. The results are unemployment rates for women and minorities substantially higher than for white males. In addition, since reaching a high point of 61% in 1971, average wages for women have now fallen to 57% of a white male's. Black women earn even less.



—cutbacks have also closed thousands of child-care centers, forcing working women back into the home, often onto welfare.

—while a major victory for the ERA was won in Indiana, we still need three more states to ratify.

Each of these attacks has hurt minority women and working women the most severely. These are the majority of women, yet these are the women least represented in NOW. The attacks have been carried out with the goal of dividing women along race and economic lines. This is part of the conscious campaign by the corporations and their representatives at all levels of government to force women, along with Blacks and other minorities, to bear the brunt of the current economic crisis. "Out of the workplace and into the kitchen; keep them barefoot and pregnant" sums up their meaning for women.

A dangerous trap has been set for the women's movement. Our enemies hope to pit more privileged women against poor and minority women, employed against unemployed, organized against unorganized. We must recognize this trap and reject it.

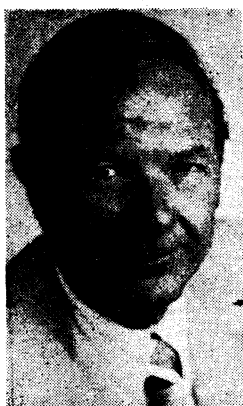
This presents a special challenge to NOW, the largest and best known women's group in the nation. NOW has the responsibility and the opportunity to unite the women's movement and mobilize women and our supporters to defend the sisters currently under attack, with the understanding that an attack on one is an attack on all. To do this, NOW needs to discuss and work out a strategy for fighting back on a local, state, and national level. The purpose of this proposal is to present ideas for such a strategy.

## Signers

Initial signers: Clare Fraenzl, Vice-Pres. for Liaison, Phila. NOW; Rhonda Rutherford, Phila. NOW; Sue von Lackum, Golden Gate (San Francisco) NOW; Diane Mullikin, Golden Gate (San Francisco) NOW; Andrea Brod, Board, Long Beach, Ca. NOW; Pat Crawford, Vice-Pres. for Child Care, San Francisco NOW; Linda Festa, former Vice-Pres., San Francisco NOW; Claudette Begin, Sec., San Jose NOW; Jana Cunningham, Public Relations Chair, San Jose NOW; Alice Desgrey, Pres., San Jose NOW; Janet Glaab, Chair, Fundraising Comm., San Jose NOW; Wayne Mercer, Chair, San Jose NOW Newsletter; Sonya Wyrick, Treas., San Jose NOW; Elsa Blum, Denver NOW; Phyllis Crawford, Denver NOW; Patricia Candy Sweet, Denver NOW; Carol Coates, Board, Louisville NOW; Kathy Colebanks, Vice-Pres. for Records, Louisville NOW; Leila Cushman, Board, Louisville NOW; Diana Gorsuch, Vice-Pres. for Finances, Louisville NOW; Annette Shaw, Louisville NOW; Debby Tarnopol, Louisville NOW; Kathleen Beasley, Chair, Employment Task Force, Baltimore NOW; Diane Prokipchak, At-large Board, No. Prince Georges Co., Md. NOW; Phyllis Lee, Abortion Comm. Coordinator, Baltimore NOW; Elaine Giddis, Pres., Boston NOW; Reba Williams, Boston NOW; Carol Gillard, Middlesex, Ma. NOW; Marcia King, Middlesex, Ma. NOW; Helen Moore, Middlesex, Ma. NOW; Norma Rae Wachs, Middlesex, Ma. NOW; Christine Miller, State Chair, Affirmative Action Task Force, Board, Ann Arbor, Mi. NOW; Rosalie Sullivan, State Coordinator, May 16 ERA demonstration, Detroit NOW; Lorraine Page, Minority Task Force, St. Paul, Mn. NOW; Sherry Carter, Board, Twin Cities (Mn.) NOW; Gillian Furst, ERA Rep., Twin Cities (Mn.) NOW; Terry Falcone, Central Monmouth, N.J. NOW; Karen Meyers Grant, Lakeland, N.J. NOW; Joan Rashid, Lakeland, N.J. NOW; Alice Conner, Newark, N.J. NOW; Lil Maurice, Newark, N.J. NOW; Kimi Nakata, Newark, N.J. NOW; Mini Jackumar, Princeton, N.J. NOW; Virginia Scott, Board, Bronx NOW; Jean Vertheim, Board, Bronx NOW; Dianne Feeley, Chair, ERA Subcomm., N.Y. NOW; Eileen Foley, ERA Subcomm., N.Y. NOW; Florence Hutkoff, ERA Subcomm., N.Y. NOW; Rosita Perea, Board, N.Y. NOW; Adele Wagner, Treas., N.Y. NOW; Suzanne Eric, Steering Comm., Queens NOW; Maureen MacDougal, Queens NOW; Jacquelyn L. Paine, Cleveland NOW; Ellen Rothchild, Cleveland NOW; Frances Edge, Toledo NOW; Dorothy Harvey, Toledo NOW; Sheila Ostrow, ERA Task Force Coordinator, Toledo NOW; Sue Skinner, Abortion Task Force Coordinator, Toledo NOW; Karen Thaller, Project Coordinator, Toledo NOW; Beverly Jones, NOW National Board (Pa.); Carol McHugh-Vitelli, Lehigh Valley, Pa. NOW; Lynne Hughes, Lower Bucks Co., Pa. NOW; Toby Ricca, Lower Bucks Co., Pa. NOW; Diane Bull, State Exec. Comm., Pa. NOW; Gail Baier, Pres., San Antonio NOW; Jo Della-Giustina, San Antonio NOW Council; Susan Garry, San Antonio NOW; Jean Marie Brough, State Convenor, National By-Laws Convention, Seattle-King Co., Wash. NOW; Heidi Messner, Publicity Coordinator, Seattle-King Co., Wash. NOW; Joan Sandler, Fundraising Coordinator, Seattle-King Co., Wash. NOW; Rita Shaw, ERA Task Force Coordinator, Seattle-King Co., Wash. NOW; Sylvia Bailey, Speakers Bureau Coordinator, Washington, D.C. NOW; Evelyn R. Baker, Washington, D.C. NOW; Leo Bugen, Washington, D.C. NOW; Clara Chichester, Washington, D.C. NOW; Barbara Cohen, Washington, D.C. NOW; Dorothy Hawkinson, Washington, D.C. NOW; Virginia V. Johnson, Washington, D.C. NOW; Olive Neal, Washington, D.C. NOW; Sara Smith, Chair, Aug. 26, 1976, Rally, Washington, D.C. NOW; Peggy Wiesenber, Washington, D.C. NOW; Adrienne Kaplan, Exec. Board, Milwaukee NOW; Carol Witon, Women in Poverty Task Force, Milwaukee NOW. (List of supporting chapters in formation.)

## Nevada Dems ax ERA

# Would you entrust your rights to these men?



FOUR DEMOCRATIC BACKSTABBERS (from left): Harley Harmon, Don Mello, Jack Jeffrey, and Roger Bremner.

By Ginny Hildebrand

"A vote favorable to ERA is said to be a foregone conclusion in the Assembly." This was reported in the February 6 *Las Vegas Sun* and other Nevada newspapers sent to the *Militant* by one of our subscribers.

It seems that many Equal Rights Amendment supporters there had counted their chickens before they hatched. When they did hatch, instead of chickens there was a swarm of vultures who had fed off the ERA movement and then flew away.

This may sound like a nightmare to you, but it was a dream come true for the Mormon church and other right-wing ERA opponents.

On February 11 the ERA went down to defeat in the Nevada assembly after the senate gave it a controversial eleven-to-ten okay three days earlier.

The assembly voted twenty-four against and only fifteen for ratification. In 1975 the ERA had passed in the assembly twenty-seven to thirteen. What happened?

**Eleven Democratic party representatives switched their votes and killed the amendment.**

**All eleven accepted campaign contributions from organizations advocating ERA ratification. Eight of these politicians took money from groups that were working solely for a yes vote on ERA.**

This double dealing shocked many ERA supporters, including Nevadans for the ERA. This group had based its fall strategy on unseating anti-ERA senators. It publicized "pro-ERA" senate and assembly candidates that voters should pull the lever for. The National Women's Political Caucus and other ERA support groups contributed to campaign chests.

Of course, these politicians now claim they never promised to deliver a yes vote. Like several other fast-footed representatives, Democrat Lloyd Mann swears he voted the will of his district. But polls conducted and publicized by pro-ERA groups last fall show that the majority of Nevadans want their representatives to ratify.

Kate Butler, head of the Nevadans for the ERA, had bitter words for the swindlers:

"It was our understanding we were supporting Lloyd Mann on the basis of his vote in the 1975 session and that was clearly understood, not only in his case but in other cases too. He led us to believe he would be voting the same way this session."

The whole state Democratic party strung along

women's rights supporters by putting a pro-ERA plank in its platform. But in the assembly twenty-two out of thirty-five Democrats voted to crush the ERA. One vote switcher, Rep. Joe Dini, commented, "I think some of the platform that comes out of the state convention is a big joke."

Summing up the experience, Kate Butler said, "Some of these so-called representatives robbed us of our time, took our money, and made false campaign promises. It taught us a lot about the shady side of the political game. But with this knowledge, we will begin anew—starting now. This was a hard lesson for us."

Start anew? Yes, the ERA movement everywhere needs that. But how? What is the painful lesson to be learned from these Democrats who think women's rights is a "big joke"?

Hopefully Nevadans aren't thinking of focusing their efforts on ejecting the hypocrites from office two years from now and replacing them with "genuine" pro-ERA Democrats. That would just keep the ERA on a treadmill, spinning full circle toward the same tragedy.

Anyway, how do you tell which "pro-ERA" politicians are for real, and which ones aren't? Clearly voting records aren't reliable. And you can't give candidates lie detector tests.

We can't entrust our rights to the flim-flam operators of the Democratic party. They have no stake in advancing women's rights.

We have to rely on those that do have a stake in equality for our sex—the masses of women. A host of trade-union, Black, and student organizations support our cause. Together we represent the majority ERA sentiment in this country and are a tremendous potential power.

Time is running out for the ERA. Three more states must ratify in the next two years or ERA dies. We've got to exercise our real power now.

Our target has to be *all* the state legislators, whether they're on record for or against the ERA. Our power against them is in our numbers, organized in massive rallies and demonstrations.

The May 16, 1976, national ERA march of more than 8,000 in Springfield, Illinois, sponsored by the National Organization for Women was an example of what to do.

If in Nevada and nationally we build on that first show of power, we'll see some action in the legislatures. We'll find that even a lot of politicians who say they're against the ERA will utter an "aye" when voting time comes around—though they may choke on the word.

Then we'll see who laughs last at the "big joke."

## ERA news

Three more states must ratify for the Equal Rights Amendment to become law. With the 1979 deadline looming ahead, several state legislatures, in addition to Nevada, took action in February. Some took steps to give the amendment life, others to kill it. No state became the thirty-sixth to ratify.

North Carolina: The house approved the ERA February 9 and sent it to the senate for a vote.

North Dakota: The senate turned down a proposal to rescind its earlier ratification.

Kansas: The house began debate February 16 on a motion to rescind.

Idaho: On February 8 one of the first states to

approve the ERA took a step backward in history. After three previous failures, foes of women's rights got the Idaho senate to join the house in voting to rescind the ERA.

The Missouri legislature is expected to act on the amendment early in March.

On February 16 the Illinois House Rules Committee gave democratic procedures—and along with them the ERA—a kick in the teeth. It reaffirmed an undemocratic rule requiring a three-fifths-vote to ratify any constitutional amendment instead of a simple majority. These politicians could have had only one aim in mind—to ensure ERA's defeat for the sixth time.

—G.H.



# Spy files on YSA revealed at Kent State

By Sarah Wright

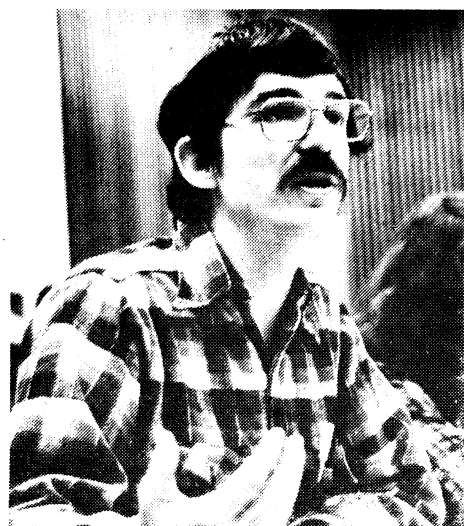
KENT, Ohio—Campus officials here at Kent State University maintained spy files on the Young Socialist Alliance during the 1960s.

The administration also sought advice from other universities when the YSA requested to become a recognized campus organization.

The files were inadvertently handed to a YSA member by an administration secretary.

## Wide protest

Public exposure of the files brought an outcry from Kent student groups and faculty members.



Daily Kent Stater/Doug Mead

BILL HOOVER: Kent State YSA member

At a February 9 news conference called by the YSA, statements of protest were read by the American Indian Rights Association, Kent Gay Liberation Front, Cleveland Socialist Workers party, and Kent State Student Government.

In a February 10 editorial, the *Daily Kent Stater* wrote, "The maintenance of illegal files on politically active groups was a matter of course 12 years ago. But the real question now is whether this is still being done at KSU?"

The paper called for a quick answer from the administration.

The campus daily gave the story front-page coverage. It was also covered by local papers in Kent and Akron, Ohio.

The first spy reports on the YSA are dated February 1965. These two reports cover a small anti-Vietnam War picket line the YSA sponsored.

The report notes several instances of violence against the protesters. But campus cops apparently did nothing to protect the picketers' constitutional rights. "The spectators were somewhat unruly but did not get out of hand," the report said. "Over and above the usual verbal harassment witnessed at such events, Mr. Floyd and I observed some unfortunate and unnecessary overt action directed... toward

the demonstrators."

Nothing was done to prevent these "unfortunate" actions, nor does the report suggest that any action would or should be taken against those who committed the violence.

The report included a copy of an antiwar leaflet the protestors distributed.

Also in the file is a photograph taken in 1968 of a man paying for some pamphlets. On the back of the photograph someone had written "Tom, Buying subversive literature. YSA."

Although there are no other reports of surveillance in the file, the three-year gap between the antiwar demonstration and the photograph suggests that the administration may have maintained regular surveillance.

## Checked around

Some of the most revealing material from the file is contained in correspondence between Kent State's James Fox, secretary of the Student Affairs Council, and administrators at other campuses.

The YSA applied for recognition as a campus organization in 1965. Fox was assigned to check up on the group. The YSA file contains inquiries made to eight campuses around the country, including Harvard and the University of California at Berkeley.

Fox's letter declares, "Throughout this [recognition] process the question is whether or not the group violates national, state, or local laws, or university regulations." He goes on to admit "it is our understanding that the Y.S.A. does not violate any of these in its stated purposes."

Two of the replies were particularly revealing.

One came from Robert Shaffer, dean of students at Indiana University in Bloomington. Shaffer wrote, "As you can well image, I have had occasion to investigate this group from many different angles during the past three years."

Shaffer was referring to the case of three Bloomington YSA members charged in 1963 with advocating the violent overthrow of the governments of Indiana and the United States.

Indiana officials wanted to slap these young socialists behind bars because of their activities in defense of the Cuban revolution and the civil rights movement.

The defense of the Bloomington Three, which was ultimately victorious, gathered broad national support. The victory set an important civil liberties precedent.

Dean Shaffer had obviously learned a few lessons from the case by the time he wrote in February 1965. He explained that the best way to minimize the YSA's impact was to recognize it "without undue fanfare or attempts to find ingenious ways to keep it off campus."

He went on, "Probably the most serious mistake I made was to oppose the group so vigorously. . . I had to change my own position . . . and that of the university . . . and this caused considerable difficulty."

While admitting the YSA was a perfectly legal organization, the Indiana dean suggested to Fox, "I feel you can conscientiously advise any student that affiliation with or membership in this group will be cause of thorough and careful investigation in the future should the individual apply for any position involving public security, sensitivity to intelligent [sic] services, military services, and related types of activities."

Shaffer apparently knew of the FBI's continuing interest in the YSA. But only in 1973 did the scope of the bureau's organized disruption plans—the notorious Cointelpro operation—begin to become public knowledge.

## Salespeople arrested

Another response is of particular interest in light of the recent case of harassment of YSA members by administrators at Central Michigan University.

In answer to the inquiry from Kent State, an official at Bowling Green State University in Ohio had written about the arrest of YSA members there who were distributing socialist literature on campus. The *Young Socialist* newspaper had reported the arrest.

"The quote from *The Young Socialist*, as is usual in such circumstances, did not have the facts," wrote dean of students Donnal Smith. "The young Socialist's [sic] were apprehended by the city police because they were actually selling books and magazines without the license prescribed by the

ordinance. The law does not forbid the sale of political literature but it does prescribe that street vendors must have a license."

That law, the *Young Socialist* had contended, was unconstitutional.

A similar incident occurred in October 1976 at Central Michigan University in Mt. Pleasant. Three YSA members were arrested and charged with trespassing on university property for the "crime" of distributing and selling socialist materials outside a public meeting.

Both the Bowling Green episode and the more recent Michigan case make clear how far campus administrations will go in ignoring constitutional rights to eliminate ideas they don't like.

The YSA is fighting back on several fronts. A defense committee backing the three Michigan YSA members has already won wide support (see box).

Continued exposures of campus spying will also help bring such illegal practices to an end.

Other evidence of campus harassment of the YSA has come to light through the landmark \$40 million lawsuit filed by the YSA and Socialist Workers party against the FBI, CIA, and other government agencies.

Recently released FBI files reveal that the bureau maintained a campus informer at Kent State. The informer's name, however, was deleted from the documents.

Who was this informer? What role did he or she play in keeping tabs on the socialists? These questions are yet to be answered.

As Kent State YSA member Bill Hoover told the February 9 press conference, it is necessary to open all Kent's files on political activists and organizations to get at the truth.

## Help stop a campus frame-up

On October 20, 1976, former CBS correspondent Daniel Schorr spoke at a public meeting at Central Michigan University.

Outside the auditorium, three members of the Young Socialist Alliance handed out campaign materials for the national and state candidates of the Socialist Workers party. They also sold copies of the *Militant*.

All three were arrested by campus cops and charged with trespassing and unlawful use of university property. But their only "crime" was their socialist ideas. A week later Democratic party supporters campaigned unmolested at CMU, as Republicans had done a week earlier.

The three face possible six-month jail terms and fines of up to \$1,650.

Supporters of the three socialists have organized the Committee for Free Speech. Endorsers include journalists I.F. Stone and Murray Kempton; linguist and political activist Noam Chomsky; and dozens of student leaders from Michigan and elsewhere around the country.

In addition, the Michigan American Civil Liberties Union is supporting the legal defense of the three YSA members.

The committee urges supporters of free speech to send letters protesting the arrests to CMU President Harold Abel at Warriner Hall, Central Michigan University, Mount Pleasant, Michigan 48859, with a copy to the committee.

For further information write: Committee for Free Speech, Box 626, Mount Pleasant, Michigan 48858.

# Chicago students hit racist admissions plan

By Dave Morrow

CHICAGO—New admissions standards that would drastically reduce enrollment of Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican students have met with a storm of protest at the University of Illinois-Chicago Circle campus.

By the university administration's own figures, at least 41 percent of the Black students, 31 percent of the Latinos, and 9 percent of the whites admitted last fall would not have gotten in under the new policy.

Black and Latino students make up slightly less than 30 percent of the 20,000 students here.

The new standards, known as the Selective Index, were adopted at a University Senate Council meeting last December 1. They did not become widely known on campus until February, however.

Black and Latino students re-

sponded angrily to this attack on their rights. On February 10 more than 200 students mobilized for a University Senate meeting with little more than word-of-mouth publicity and on twenty-four hours' notice.

Several students reminded Chancellor Donald Riddle that many Black and Latino families had been forced to give up their homes to make room for the campus when it was built.

As one Black student put it, "This is my house, and you're nothing but a guest here. You're trying to keep me out of my own house. If you can't behave yourself as a courteous guest, you should go back to New York, where you came from." His remarks were greeted with prolonged applause.

This mobilization was followed by a meeting of about 250 people called to protest the Selective Index and make further plans to fight it.

Speakers emphasized the need for a highly visible campaign of action and education against the index, combined with community outreach. Administration efforts to cloud the issue have succeeded in creating confusion about the real nature of the changes.

The Selective Index is a computer-calculated prediction of the probability that a particular prospective student will get at least a C grade average during their first quarter—the minimum needed to stay in school. It is based on a comparison of high school class rank, American College Testing Program (ACT) scores and the performance of the previous year's freshman class.

Under the old policy, anyone with a 25 percent or greater chance of surviving was admitted. The new guidelines raise the cutoff point to 50 percent.

Because of the notoriously poor

quality of Chicago public schools, the Selective Index will drastically reduce Black and Latino enrollment.

As if that weren't enough, the new admissions standards are being accompanied by a ninety-dollar-a-year tuition hike, tougher grading policies, and tighter enforcement of probation and drop rules. The Illinois Board of Higher Education has called for a \$300-a-year tuition increase by 1980.

Protest activities are being coordinated by the Coalition of Concerned Students and Staff, which includes the Student Staff Association, Black Student Organization for Communications, Student Government, Union of Puerto Rican Students, Young Socialist Alliance, Puerto Rican University Student Federation (FUSP), Student Coalition Against Racism, Revolutionary Student Brigade, and other campus groups.

## \$16 million in city funds

# SWP blasts Oakland's investment in apartheid

By Carl Finamore

OAKLAND, Calif.—Soweto, South Africa, is more than 10,000 miles from here. But Paul Boutelle has made the need for solidarity with South African Blacks against the racist apartheid regime a centerpiece of his campaign. Boutelle is the 1977 Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of Oakland.

Boutelle has exposed the investment of \$16,631,236.61 by the Police and Fire and the Municipal Employees' retirement funds in corporations doing business in South Africa. These funds are run by the Oakland city government.

Boutelle also revealed that Oakland's city government has voted at least three times against stockholders' resolutions calling for a withdrawal by these corporations from South African operations.

The socialist candidate has sent an open letter to all his opponents in the mayoral race calling on them to join him in pledging to withdraw city funds from these racist investments if they are elected.

Boutelle denounced the Oakland-South African connection at a February 11 campaign kickoff rally. "The Oakland city government," he said, "with our tax money—but without our knowledge or consent—has actively aided the oppression of Blacks."

This news only confirms what is all too familiar already to the nearly 35 percent of Oakland's population that is Black. Along with the many Chicanos and Asians who live here, Blacks suffer most from soaring unemployment and cutbacks in city services here.

The city council has turned down their demands for meaningful affirmative-action hiring programs for Oakland on the grounds that there are not enough "qualified" minority workers to fill the available jobs.

Racist cops have been given free rein in Oakland. Last June a Chicano, José Barlow Benavidez, was shot down in cold blood by officer Michael Cogley. Cogley was cleared of any wrongdoing.

What is new are the solutions to

these problems being put forward by Boutelle and his running mates on the SWP's ticket for city council, Clifton DeBerry and Jude Coren.

Boutelle says the cutbacks, unemployment, and racism in Oakland are part of a generalized attack by the employing class on working people. He says that the Democratic and Republican parties that run Oakland are spearheading this attack on all levels of government.

The SWP candidates say that working people need to fight back by building their own independent party. By breaking with the Democrats and

Republicans, working people can fight for their demands at the polls as well as through community and labor struggles.

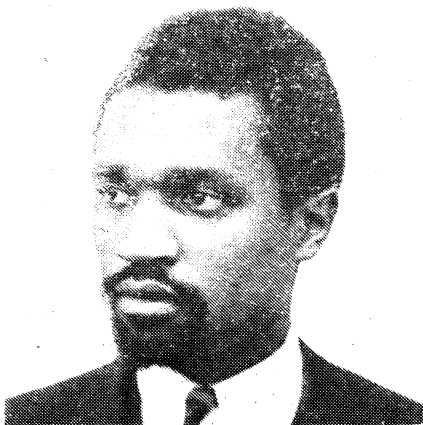
"We must set out to build a new type of party, a labor party based on the unions," Boutelle says. "Such a labor party would lead our struggles and challenge the power of the two capitalist parties. This would be a big step forward in the fight for a new kind of government—a workers government."

The socialists' militant outlook has won them the respect of some prominent local activists. At the rally, the fifty campaign supporters present gave

an enthusiastic welcome to Angela DeSantis, who came to present greetings. DeSantis received widespread attention as a result of her successful fight against the Berkeley Post Office. The post office fired DeSantis after she became pregnant during her probationary employment period.

It was also announced at the rally that Andrea Benavidez, a leader of the Barlow Benavidez Defense Committee, had endorsed the SWP ticket in Oakland. The committee is supporting a wrongful death suit against Cogley, the Oakland police, and the city.

## Socialist candidates in Oakland elections



**PAUL BOUTELLE**, forty-two, is the SWP's candidate for mayor of Oakland. A longtime civil rights activist, Boutelle was chairperson of the Freedom Now party in Harlem in 1964. Later that year he was a member of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, founded by Malcolm X. Boutelle was the 1968 vice-presidential candidate of the SWP. He is a past member of the Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton. Guyton was a Black youth gunned down by Oakland cops. Boutelle is employed as a lighting consultant.



**JUDE COREN**, twenty-five, is an SWP candidate for Oakland City Council. Coren is a member of the National Organization for Women.

Coren is making child care an issue in her campaign. At the February 11 rally she blasted the all-male city council for "not spending one penny for children." She contrasted this with the council's generosity toward big realtors. Oakland recently purchased property at fifty-five dollars per square foot and resold it to big corporations at ten dollars per square foot for the City Center Redevelopment Project.



**CLIFTON DeBERRY**, fifty-three, is also an SWP candidate for city council. In 1964 DeBerry, running on the SWP ticket, became the first Black person ever to run for president of the United States. He has been active in the labor and Black movements since the 1940s. In 1954 DeBerry helped organize protests against the lynching of Emmett Till. He participated in support efforts for the Montgomery bus boycott and in the Woolworth boycott organized by civil rights activists during the 1960s. He was a friend and collaborator of Malcolm X.

## Va. socialist fights for public employee rights

By Priscilla Schenk

RICHMOND, Va.—The first Socialist Workers party candidate ever to be on the ballot in a local election here is Michael Pennock. Pennock is running for city council from District Five in the March 1 election.

As a Head Start teacher and an active member of the Richmond Education Association, Pennock is making the defense of the collective bargaining rights of Virginia's public employees a central part of his campaign.

In January the Virginia Supreme Court voided all contracts negotiated between local governments and public employee unions. Pennock sees this decision as an attempt to make public employees the first victims of a more generalized attack on the labor movement in Virginia.

Pennock believes that the union movement needs a new strategy if it is going to be able to defend itself successfully against this attack.

Pennock said a step in the right direction was the February 5 statewide rally called by the Virginia Education Association (VEA) to protest cutbacks in education.

"Teacher hopes were raised by the call for a demonstration. But our hopes faltered," he said, "when printed copies of the union's rally call left out our demand for the right to collective bargaining. We must fight the cut-

backs, but winning bargaining rights is the first step in that fight."

The 6,000 teachers at the demonstration made their demand for collective bargaining rights loudly and clearly anyway, Pennock explained.

"But unfortunately, the leadership of the VEA—instead of mobilizing the union to prepare for a militant fight for this demand—is funneling its efforts into lobbying the state general assembly."

"The VEA leadership's major aim," the socialist candidate explained, "is enactment of 'meet and confer' legislation. This only requires representatives of local governments to meet with

representatives of labor. But that's all. Their attitude is one of begging the assembly for crumbs."

Through his campaign Pennock is raising the need for a different strategy for the unions. "The greatest need is for the unions to understand that collective bargaining will not be won without a fight. And even more important," he emphasized, "the gains made in a negotiated contract cannot be protected without a fight."

"Such a fight includes the need for the unions to maintain the right to strike. The strike, the withholding of services, is our most basic and powerful weapon."

## Richmond's city council: 'racist to the core'

Richmond's all-white city council is racist and antilabor to the core. One member is a bank president. Another is a retired Standard Oil executive. A third is a partner in a stock market firm. And a fourth, a real estate broker.

In 1970, seeking to offset an approaching Black majority of voters in Richmond, the council annexed a portion of a predominantly

white suburb. This racist move was challenged in the courts under the 1965 Voting Rights Act. The council responded with a countersuit to allow the annexation. The ensuing legal battles lasted from 1970 to the fall of 1976. During that time, no elections were permitted in the city.

After the city council's annexation was upheld in a middle-level court decision, the backers of the voting rights suit dropped their challenge.

Pennock criticizes the posture adopted by VEA leaders toward the assembly. "The VEA has been saying that negotiations between 'reasonable' unions and 'reasonable' public employers can head off strikes. But the assembly does not listen to the reason of the workers. It listens to the reason of the employers, the ruling class."

Pennock says public employees should stop relying on the Democrats and Republicans in the state legislature and start relying on their own power organized through the unions. He points to the demonstration by 6,000 in Richmond as an example of what will be increasingly needed in the future.

Pennock also stresses the need to bring the labor movement directly into the political arena itself. "We need a labor party based on our unions," he says, "a party that will fight for our interests. We can't go on voting for the same Democratic party that is tearing up our contracts and slashing away at our standard of living."

Pennock's campaign for such independent labor political action makes him unique among the contenders for a seat on the city council.

The current city council (see box) has been controlled by the "Team of Progress" (TOP).

In each of the city's five districts, TOP has endorsed a candidate for the

*Continued on page 30*



## CARTER'S WAR BUDGET

Question: When is an *increase* in war spending labeled a *decrease* in war spending? When are *cutbacks* in social services promoted as *increases* in social services?

Answer: In President Carter's new federal budget for fiscal 1978.

The hand is quicker than the eye whenever Washington juggles the figures that are supposed to show where our tax dollars are going. But Jimmy "I'll-never-lie-to-you" Carter has capped his first month in office with a virtuoso display of budgetary hypocrisy.

"Carter to Propose Defense Fund Cuts as Signal to Soviet," was the *New York Times* headline February 21. A subhead referred to Carter's "\$2.75 Billion Reduction." If you read the story, however, you learn that Carter's 1978 budget for the Pentagon is "more than \$10 billion higher than the \$110 billion defense budget for the fiscal year 1977."

The trick is crude but simple. Carter and the news media, rather than comparing his budget with the previous year's spending, are emphasizing the changes from *Ford's lame-duck budget* for fiscal 1978, which was submitted last month.

Ford proposed boosting Pentagon spending authority by a whopping \$12.9 billion—from \$110.2 billion to \$123.1 billion. Carter proposes to increase it "only" \$10.2 billion. In the headlines this becomes a "cut" of \$2.7 billion—while the Democratic administration actually proposes the highest level of war spending in history.

So much for Carter's campaign pledge to cut Pentagon spending by \$5 billion to \$7 billion. Ditto his campaign statement that the \$94-million-a-plane B-1 bomber "should not be funded and would be wasteful of the taxpayers' dollars." Carter now proposes to waste nearly \$2 billion next year producing these planes and lining the pockets of Rockwell International—although the air force is to get "only" five of the bombers in 1978 rather than eight as Ford had promised them.

What about Carter's "increased" social service spending? The story here is that Ford had proposed budget cutbacks of \$13 billion, mostly in social services. Carter is restoring \$8 billion of Ford's proposed cutbacks. *That is, Carter is cutting last year's programs by \$5 billion.* This includes:

- Cutting a special milk program for schoolchildren from \$180 million to \$50 million.
- Cutting Medicare and Medicaid payments for hospital care by \$829 million.
- Eliminating \$777 million in various Social Security benefits.
- Phasing out the \$340 million student loan program.
- Cutting \$400 million in aid to school districts with large numbers of federal employees.

In other areas Carter proposes \$2.4 billion in program increases. Not all of this is for social services, by the way. A big chunk is handouts to railroads, energy companies, and other corporate profiteers. Then there is a paltry \$8 billion in spending for Carter's "economic stimulus" plan. Actual job-creating programs are expanded only minimally from last year, as the AFL-CIO and others have noted.

At the same time, Carter proposes to cut out thirteen weeks of aid now available to the long-term unemployed. This is supposed to look good compared with the twenty-six weeks Ford wanted to cut.

Carter's attitude toward the oppression of women is aptly reflected in one spending increase: \$35 million for "alternatives to abortion." And women had better like the alternatives, since Carter aims to end all federal funds for abortions.

One item certain to keep rising, along with war spending, is interest on the soaring national debt—today's payments for yesterday's wars. Well over \$40 billion will be paid out in interest next year, most of it to banks and wealthy individuals.

Interest is one of the few items exempt from the proposed "sunset" laws—a budget-cutter's gimmick that would require justification of government programs every five years. The Democrats and Republicans consider the \$40 billion in welfare for the rich so sacrosanct that they don't even bother to vote on it. The money comes out of a "permanent indefinite appropriation."

The *New York Daily News* concluded that Carter's budget proposals "should go a long way toward reminding the nation's bankers and businessmen that, despite his populist leanings, Carter is, after all, one of them."

He sure isn't one of us.

## Letters

### Miami farm workers freeze

In the article "Cold: a 'natural' disaster?" (February 4 *Militant*), Arnold Weissberg does a good job of exposing the rotten slumlord Daniel Gold, who lived in comfort while his tenants froze to death.

However, Weissberg ended the article with a statement I feel needs clarification. He stated, "And the cold can't touch him either. You see, Daniel Gold lives in Miami."

The situation for more than 30,000 farm workers and thousands of other workers in the Miami area was quite different from that of slumlord Gold. The cold wave that crippled most of the United States left its mark in Miami also.

Temperatures were in the twenties. We even had snow flurries. Most of the older houses here are not heated and poor people are not equipped with proper clothing or blankets.

The freezing of crops put tens of thousands of farm workers out of work. These farm workers have no savings and without jobs cannot pay rent or buy food. And I can assure you their unheated shacks are a far cry from the warm apartments of slumlord Gold and his cohorts.

These miserable conditions sparked several mass protests including one march of 2,500 farm workers demanding unemployment compensation and food stamps.

In reality, a very small part of Miami is made up of people like Gold. As with most cities Black, poor, and working-class people suffer from the inequalities of capitalism.

Marilyn Markus  
Miami, Florida

### Water slick

Someone on a local radio station here suggested using supertankers to bring some of that surplus Eastern snow to drought-stricken parts of California.

The only problem, he said, would be the danger of a spill resulting in a water slick on the ocean.

R.S.  
San Jose, California

### 'Double Dippers'

I enjoyed Miguel Pendás's article "'Alien' rip-offs?" in the January 21 *Militant*.

After reading an article in *U.S. News & World Report* in 1974 about "aliens" by Gen. Leonard Chapman (retired), I wrote him a letter on his article. I brought up the subject of "Double Dippers" taking away jobs from their fellow Americans.

If you were to make a study of the "Double Dippers" in America, you would be amazed to find hundreds of thousands of "retired" government (city, county, state, and federal) employees who are holding down second-career jobs in government, and thus taking jobs away from others.

General Chapman is drawing a huge pension as a former general and is now in a second-career government job, "ripping off" two paychecks from the taxpayers.

This is becoming a national scandal. In my own county of Sacramento, California, the new manager of the county airport is paid \$59,000 a year by the county, and he is also drawing a pension as a "retired" major general. He will eventually rip off a pension from the county and a third pension from Social Security. Fantastic!

Even the congressman from my district is drawing a pension from his former job as a state legislator. The chief of police of the city of San Francisco is drawing a \$22,000-a-year

pension as the former chief of police of the city of Oakland, California.

The mayor of Los Angeles is a former police inspector. And, so it goes. Forty members of Congress draw pensions from the U.S. military.

I have written to the governor of California and federal and county agencies of my concern about these "Double Dippers" taking away hundreds of thousands of jobs from my fellow Americans. So, to me, this idea of starving "aliens" taking two-dollar-an-hour jobs is a big hypocritical joke.

W.B.  
Rancho Cordova, California

### Shanker & Sadlowski

I wrote a letter to Albert Shanker to protest his *New York Times* column attacking Ed Sadlowski and Steelworkers Fight Back. I told him I thought union elections were the business of union members and that fat cats like him had no right to slander opposition candidates.

I didn't expect a reply, but I got one. Here is the full text:

"Dear Ms. Carnes:

"Albert Shanker has asked me to thank you for your temperate letter of December 25th. Mr. Shanker is much too decent to say it, but I'm not: I doubt that you have ever seen either a steel mill or a worker. And you have a lot of gall to call Albert Shanker undemocratic and racist.

"As to 'doing nothing,' you wouldn't want to have to work as hard as Albert Shanker does every day. And yes, union elections are the business of nobody but the union—at least you're smart enough to have got the point."

The letter was signed by Susan Glass, director of public relations for the United Federation of Teachers. I'm astounded that they waste UFT stationery for ridiculous replies like that.

Laura Carnes  
Boston, Massachusetts

### Gas shortage rip-off

I've been reading the *Militant* now for almost four years. It is by far the most honest and informative paper of its kind.

I especially enjoyed your February 11 issue about the big gas shortage rip-off. We all know that's exactly what it is. Just another way for the gas companies to get fatter, while we get leaner.

Ford used to say, "Bite the bullet." Carter says, "Turn down your thermostat."

Even though these are hard things for us to live with, if it serves as a catalyst for waking up an apathetic America, it will be worth it.

The government realizes, as we should, that if we are silent they can get away with anything. Only through large mass outcries and protests can we ever change things. But to do this we must join together in solidarity and take a stand.

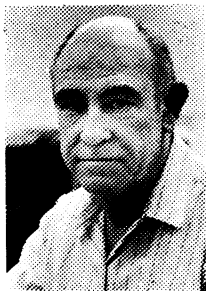
W.L.  
Clinton, Massachusetts

### 'Roots'

I have found the *Militant* to be an indispensable reading source. I am able to follow world events without being led astray, as when we succumb to the capitalist press.

I wish to thank the *Militant* for the book *Prospects for Socialism in America*. I plan to remain a *Militant* reader. At the present time I am studying Marx and the underlying elements of struggles around the world.





## Abel's assessment

It came as no surprise to I.W. Abel, president of the United Steelworkers of America, that his successor is to be none other than Lloyd McBride, the very man so designated by Abel himself. He says the recent union election settled the matter. And besides that, anyone should have known that challenger Ed Sadlowski had no chance of winning—not in the first round anyway.

So far as Abel is concerned the election, which was supposed to give everyone in the 1.4-million-member union a vote, was a mere formality this time as it has been on all previous occasions, except one. The exception was a court-ordered rerun supervised by the Labor Department in the union's Chicago-Gary District 31, which Sadlowski won by a two-to-one majority to become district director there two years ago.

The outcome of the election this year for top spot in the union was predictable because agents of the union's bureaucratic apparatus were again the official ballot counters, with the additional precaution of a Labor Department blind. They asked for and received "guidelines" from the Labor Department, which gave the illusion of government supervision.

Part of the game is to get out an early announcement after the election that the voting trend was overwhelmingly favorable to the predetermined winner. That is an old trick practiced so long by Abel and others like him that it has become second nature.

The voting was hardly over on February 8 when Abel announced that it looked like McBride was the winner, and before another day had passed he hailed the McBride "victory" and explained the meaning of it.

"The vote says to Sadlowski that he hasn't known what it's been about up to this time," Abel said, "that he hasn't kept up with what this union has been doing or the feelings of the membership, and that he has been used by some outsiders who wanted to get control of this union."

And in conclusion Abel said, "I hope he's learned something, but I question it."

The final word has yet to be spoken and the final outcome of the election has still to be determined.

Neither is likely to come soon. But what happens to the impounded ballot boxes and what members of the steelworkers union say and do in their locals in the coming months will indicate whether Abel or Sadlowski has "kept up with what this union has been doing," and which of them best understands the feelings of the membership.

The election campaign and the recorded vote gave some hints that Abel chooses to ignore and hopes will soon be forgotten. In the closing weeks before the election the rallies of Sadlowski supporters in the steel centers and mine towns, both in this country and Canada, were well attended and spirited. Abel and McBride had a hard time finding audiences and often spoke to closed meetings of "invited" staff representatives on the union payroll.

The announced vote from McBride headquarters after the election was less than 600,000—324,531 for McBride and 238,152 for Sadlowski.

According to this report only 40 percent of the membership voted, which is not surprising. Elections in the steelworkers and most other unions are not intended to get out a big membership vote. They are commonly held in local union halls or other locations far away from the places of work in order to make it easier for the officials to cast and count ballots without membership interference.

The sure and easy way to guarantee every member a chance to vote is to hold the election at the workplace. That is what the International Typographical Union does and never fails to register a 95 percent turnout.

It may be that Sadlowski is not entirely aware of everything the officials of the steelworkers union have been doing, but it's a certainty that he knows from bitter experience in two sharply contested elections that they are master practitioners in the art of stealing votes.

It is also certain that Sadlowski has a better understanding of the feelings of the membership than Abel has. Sadlowski talks to steelworkers and Abel talks to his hirelings in the union apparatus.

There is a big difference in what can be learned from consulting these two different sources.

## Free Lance

## Anger in the mills

## Dave Freeman

They wore dungarees. Some of their faces were unshaven. It was a meeting of workers—angry, militant steelworkers. The hall was jammed. They'd come to hear Ed Sadlowski.

It was the week before the steelworkers election and Sadlowski was optimistic. He talked tough and the audience responded. With cheers, applause, and standing ovations.

There was a visceral communication with this man from Chicago and the workers in the mills who had traveled many miles, some of them, to hear a union leader who actually told the bosses where to get off.

And though it was the only time I ever saw Ed Sadlowski, I have to say I understood why this man and his movement is so significant.

It was no accident that the *Wall Street Journal* and *New York Times* editorialized against him in the final week before the election. They understood what he represented.

It was no accident that George Meany and much of the top labor bureaucracy climbed on the smear bandwagon to discredit Sadlowski. They saw this man as a threat. They are right.

"You can tell someone by the enemies he has," Sadlowski told the steelworkers. Sadlowski has the right enemies.

The beer was flowing. Before the day was over, the 300 steelworkers had drained six kegs.

Sادلowski talked about the need for democracy in "our union." About the right to vote on contracts. About the need for a thirty-hour workweek, divided into five six-hour days.

It wasn't rhetoric. Sure, he said, the steelworkers union has passed resolutions since 1939 about job security. But resolutions are cheap. "You could paper the walls of this hall with those resolutions," said Sadlowski. "We could have the biggest bonfire this area has ever seen."

He talked about his life in the steel mills as a young

twenty-year-old militant, running for griever against an older man who hadn't done much.

The plant supervisors urged the workers to vote against the young upstart and vote for his opponent. It is axiomatic, said Sadlowski. When the bosses support a worker in a union election, you've got to wonder what that worker is all about.

Ed Sadlowski sipped a beer in a plastic cup as he spoke. He talked easily, confidently. His is not a voice from the boardrooms. It is a voice from the shop floor, the foundaries, the iron mines—an angry, articulate voice that says, treat us like human beings, not like animals. It is a voice spiked with an occasional colorful vulgarity, a voice out of the experience of a class that has gone so long without a champion.

I'm not a steelworker. I'm in another union, smaller, weaker, just as bureaucratized. We need an Ed Sadlowski in our union. Like the steelworkers, thousands of workers would respond.

Sادلowski has taught us a lesson: There is a way out.

The trade-union movement is a big powerful movement and we must and can transform its machinery—turn it around for the good of the worker, for the good of humanity.

Fight Back must continue. And the message of Fight Back must be carried to the Teamsters, to the auto workers, to the unions big and small that represent us.

The day I heard Ed Sadlowski, there were 300 workers stamping their feet, shouting their approval, saying in so many words that they were fed up with unsafe working conditions, inadequate pensions, and unfair wages.

Together there was a certain sense of power that seemed to glow in that hall. Those workers and Ed Sadlowski had come to an agreement that there was something basically wrong with the way steelworkers in this country are treated.

If I was a boss sitting in that room, I would be afraid.

One note I would like to add on Omari Musa's review of "Roots" (February 11 *Militant*). Being white and having attended predominantly white, bourgeois elementary and high schools, I never learned a satisfying amount of history concerning my Black brothers and sisters.

Our teachers were more interested in making sure we learned about the amazing accomplishments of white America.

I don't feel guilty about that era in our history. I have no responsibility in that matter, despite the color of my skin.

I can understand the emotions of Black Americans who viewed the serializations, but to blame me because I'm white doesn't erase history, and it creates problems.

If Black Americans need to release their emotions, I believe the ideal target would be groups such as the Ku Klux Klan, which still flourish in our supposedly progressive society.

Craig McKiss

Clinton, Massachusetts

### Death penalty

The reinstitution of the death penalty marks a future chapter in the barbaristic methods to be used by the ruling class to maintain their rule.

The electric chair and the assassin's bullet await oppressed Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and the poor who would dare to assert their right to be treated as human beings.

Witness the killings and frame-ups during and after the Attica rebellion. The police who murdered the inmates have yet to stand trial or be charged or indicted.

So long as Blacks expressed their oppression and alienation through antisocial acts, such as killing each other, the government didn't feel threatened and was glad to stand by and watch.

As this same rage took on a more and more political thrust and focus, the government began to react differently.

The death penalty exists primarily to threaten and terrorize politically motivated people and the most oppressed.

Debs Bleicher

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

### 'Slip of the tongue'

I was glad "In Brief (February 11 *Militant*)" picked up the remarks made by Paul Rand Dixon calling Ralph Nader a "son-of-a-bitch and a dirty Arab."

I'm sure his blooper is quite typical of the backroom talk that goes on all the time among our esteemed government officials, but only rarely gets picked up by the media.

However, part of his "apology," which somehow got through on a Chicago radio station, must have been censored from most news accounts.

In retracting his remarks, he was reported to have explained, "I realize that not all Arabs are dirty!"

Nothing like a sincere apology for a racist "slip of the tongue."

Shane Scott

Chicago, Illinois

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

# The Great Society

Harry Ring



**Tuned in**—"I see everything that happened in the sixties . . . including drugs, as preparations for leaving the planet," says Dr. Timothy Leary. Prior to departure, the good doctor is renting a \$725-a-month Hollywood pad. "I love it here," he says. "We're going to rent another house on the beach too. I think climate, atmosphere, and environment are tremendously important in your consciousness. . . ."

**Welcome Wagon**—A deceased Englishman left \$44,000 for Jesus Christ for his second coming. But he must return within eighty years and prove his identity to the British government. The probate attorney anticipates a lot of problems, "particularly with cranks."

**Fuzzy-wuzzy was a donkey**—Just jesting of course, Jimmy Carter said he felt a kinship with successful congressional campaigners. "We're all fuzzy on the issues," he said. "That's proven by the fact that we did get elected. The advantage of being a presidential candidate is that you have a much broader range of issues on which to be fuzzy."

**Us too, Rev**—Asserting some recent comments had been misunderstood, Rev. Billy Graham emphasized that he favors total abstinence from demon rum, "except for medicinal purposes."

**Investigative journalism**—A *Los Angeles Times* article advised that the coffee boycott was a "tempest in a



'It says here you're intelligent, honest and reliable. What makes you think you'd be an asset to this company?'

coffee cup" that was winning little support. How did the *Times* find out? Simple. By interviewing the head of the Restaurant Association and the editor of a coffee industry trade journal.

**Legal pointer**—"Giving the finger," or raising the middle finger in a gesture of contempt, has been ruled offensive but 'not obscene' by a three-judge panel in Hartford, Conn. The decision was handed down in the case of a 16-year-old high school student who had been fined \$25 for flashing the gesture at a state trooper. . . . The panel ruled that for 'the finger' to be obscene, it must be significantly erotic. . . .—The *Arizona New Times*.

## Women in Revolt

Willie Mae Reid



### Reclaiming the 'property'

The *Militant* recently received some information from one of our readers on the case of Atefeh, an Iranian woman.

In Ghazvin, a few hours from Tehran, the capital of Iran, a "respected" member of the clergy had been involved in a three-year secret relationship with Atefeh, now seventeen years old.

The townspeople were told about their secret meetings in mid-September 1976 by the mosque caretaker. Early one morning the two were attacked by thousands of people throwing stones, rocks, and wooden objects. The police arrested the man and little is known of his fate.

Atefeh was taken home by her family. There her uncle and brother condemned her to death. She was given the choice of dying by being poisoned, electrocuted, or run over by a car.

Atefeh wanted to live. Thinking she had a chance, she accepted the third sentence. Her uncle and brother took her outside the city, ran over her a few times, and left her lying on the road. Passersby took Atefeh to a hospital.

*Zan Rooz*, an Iranian woman's magazine, denounced the attempted murder. Our reader quotes the magazine:

"They say that Atefeh is still alive and doctors hope to save her life, however she has been unconscious and half her body is paralyzed. For such a woman, even if she does stay alive, with disgrace bestowed upon her, life will forever remain like hell."

"And," *Zan Rooz* pointed out, "unfortunately the criminal law under Amendment 197 of the law legally justifies such brutality and savagery."

We women are viewed as property—owned lock, stock, and barrel. And not just in Iran!

A husband shot and killed his wife and her lover in 1975 in Georgia when he found them in a "compromising" situation. His murder conviction was appealed. The court of appeals ruled that killing the lover to prevent adultery would be justified homicide to protect the marriage, though killing the spouse could not be justified because it would terminate the marriage.

Marriage, my foot, that's human bondage!

Fortunately, the Georgia Supreme Court rejected the lower court's claim and upheld the conviction for both murders.

A women's tribunal in Belgium last March discussed sexist violence and discrimination. The

testimony of women from forty countries has been compiled in a new book, *Crimes Against Women: Proceedings of the International Tribunal*, published by Les Femmes press in Millbrae, California.

The testimony reveals a worldwide pattern of second-class existence for working women, the additional dual victimization of racially oppressed women, and the tragic effects of anti-abortion laws. It also shows how prostitution, rape, and wife beating are used universally to keep women submissive.

But the women's liberation movement is rising up all over.

The big rallies, demonstrations, and conferences women are organizing are powerful expressions of our fight for equal opportunity, for child care, and for maternity benefits; and our struggle against reactionary abortion, divorce, and adultery laws.

Our willingness to fight back has already changed attitudes and practices against women. Our young movement is making gains.

The fight for women's rights challenges the economic and political institutions that breed violent abuse of women throughout the world.

## The American Way of Life

### 'Hustler' case: free press the issue

Larry Flynt doesn't come to mind when you think of victims of the system.

He's not known for his outspoken opposition to government policies. He's not a union activist, or a partisan of Black rights. He opposes the goals of the women's liberation movement.

He's white and he's pretty rich. Larry Flynt is the publisher of two magazines: *Hustler* and *Chic*.

Larry Flynt is a pornographer.

And on February 8, in Cincinnati, he was sentenced to twenty-five years in prison for publishing *Hustler*.

Larry Flynt is the self-proclaimed "king of the raunch." His magazines, as the expression goes, leave nothing to the imagination. They are an insult to women: rape fantasies, voyeurism, the most outrageous fetishizing of female anatomy. All so that Flynt can be number one on the totem pole of what are gently called "men's magazines."

But the content of Larry Flynt's magazines is not the issue.

Recent Supreme Court decisions have given increasing power to local authorities to utilize their

definition of "community standards" in clamping down on newspapers, magazines, and films deemed "objectionable."

The "community standards" that painted a bull's-eye on Larry Flynt are generally puritanical and reflect the pressures of right-wing organizations that are hell-bent on "cleaning up" America's moral atmosphere.

The essential point is that Larry Flynt has a democratic right to print his magazine and a right to sell it. His two or three million readers have a right to buy it.

And everybody else has the right to say what they want about it. And not buy it.

The real pornography in this society doesn't start or stop at Larry Flynt's doorstep. It begins and ends with the socially and sexually destructive system that creates today's roles and identities for men and women.

The real pornography is the morality that finds sex obscene, war hallowed, and the death penalty a symbol of justice; the spectacle of grotesque private

wealth for the few in the midst of hard times for the many.

Larry Flynt is a footnote, but his conviction is serious business. A warning sign. An attack on our democratic rights. The next victim may not be such a seemingly frivolous character.

The rulers of this country pick and choose. Gary Gilmore for the death penalty. Larry Flynt and pornography for freedom of the press. That ought to make us think.

Flynt's case is a bellwether for freedom of the press. Should his conviction be upheld, a green light will be flashed to Bible thumpers, John Birchers, and others whose opposition to "sexually outrageous material" is nothing but a mask for their hatred of feminism, gay liberation, civil liberties, unions, and Black rights.

Because the real pound of flesh the government, the courts, and the right-wingers are after has little to do with what Larry Flynt prints. You could say that they're trying to hustle us again.

—Jon Hillson

# March 8 women's protests, 1857-1977

By Dianne Feeley and Gale Shangold

In recent years March 8 has become more than just another day in this country. Banks and schools still remain open. Textbooks ignore the date. But women in many cities around the country will be commemorating March 8, International Women's Day, with rallies, teach-ins, picket lines, festivals, and demonstrations.

The history of International Women's Day, like the history of women in general, is rich despite the lack of "official" recognition.

Women in the needle trades protested their working conditions on March 8, 1857, by marching from the streets of New York's Lower East Side toward the wealthy neighborhood.

On March 8, 1908, women garment workers marched for an eight-hour day, the end to child labor, and the right to vote.

In honor of the suffrage battles in the United States, the International Socialist Women's Congress, meeting in Copenhagen in 1910, declared March 8 International Women's Day.

March 8, 1911, saw a tremendous outpouring of women in Europe in support of suffrage.

Despite fierce repression in tsarist Russia, the Bolshevik party organized "Morning Teach-in on the Woman Question" on March 8, 1913, in Petrograd. Nearly all the party speakers were arrested at the end of the rally.

The German women's movement, on March 8, 1914, launched a public outcry against the impending world war and protested the arrest of socialist leader Rosa Luxemburg.

International Women's Day in 1917 launched the Russian revolution. Women textile workers were suffering from the hardships of World War I. They went out on strike and sent delegates to other workers for support. Their strike spread throughout the city. Soon Petrograd was engulfed in a workers' upsurge, which we now know as the February revolution.

In colonial China International Women's Day became a day of demonstrations and protest. For instance, in 1924 women in the major cities demonstrated under the slogans: same work, same pay; protection for child labor and pregnant mothers; equal education; abolish child brides and polygamy; and prohibit the buying of slave girls and the taking of concubines.

Today's women's liberation movement is not only discovering this story, it is making history as well. For International Women's Day this year, women are organizing actions in cities across the country to demand: ratify the Equal Rights Amendment; restrictions on abortion rights; end sterilization abuse; full equality and rights in employment; and fully funded, quality child care.

Different kinds of organizations

have united in coalitions to sponsor and plan these events. Participants include: National Organization for Women chapters; ERA and abortion rights coalitions; campus, antiracist, and political groups; and labor-union representatives.

**Twin Cities (Minnesota):** March and rally to stop attacks on women's rights. Saturday, March 5. Assemble for march 1:30 p.m. at the mall in front of Macalester Student Union, at Grand and Snelling in St. Paul; rally 3:00 p.m. at the State Capitol Rotunda.

**Los Angeles:** Mujeres Unidas por la Liberación del Pueblo—a statewide Latina conference. Friday, March 4, 7:00 p.m.; Saturday, March 5, 8:00 a.m. to 7:00 p.m.; Sunday, March 6, 10:00 a.m. to 2:00 p.m. East Los Angeles Community College, 5357 East Brooklyn Avenue.

**Houston:** Women Unite in Pursuit of Equal Rights—a march and rally. Saturday, March 5. Assemble for march at noon at Houston City Hall; rally 2:00 p.m. at Sam Houston Park. The sponsoring coalition includes National Council of Negro Women and League of Women Voters.

**Phoenix, Arizona:** Rally for the ERA. Saturday, March 5, 1:00 p.m. State Capitol.

**Milwaukee:** Tribunal on Crimes against Women. Saturday, March 5, 1:00 p.m. YWCA. Panel Discussion on women of Latin America and Spain. Wednesday, March 9, 7:00 p.m. University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee Union.

**Lexington, Kentucky:** Panels, speakers, workshops. Saturday, March 5, 9:30 a.m. to 4:30 p.m. Student Center, University of Kentucky.

**Detroit:** Tuesday, March 8. Workshops and displays, 10:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. Speakers on the current issues in the women's liberation movement, 7:30 p.m. Ballroom of Student Center, Wayne State University.

**Atlanta:** Speakers on the victories women have won and on where women have to go from here. Tuesday, March 8, 8:00 p.m. Business Administration Auditorium, Georgia State University.

**Cleveland:** Tuesday, March 8. Films, speakers, entertainment; noon. Speakers on issues facing the women's movement, 7:30 p.m., Room 109. Cleveland State University Center.

**Louisville:** All day International Women's Day program. Tuesday, March 8, 10:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m., humanities building; 7:00 p.m., Middleton Auditorium in Strickler Hall. University of Louisville.

**Tallahassee, Florida:** Ratify the Equal Rights Amendment rally. Wednesday, March 9, 7:30 p.m. 255 Chemistry Auditorium, Florida State University.

In addition, March 12 demonstrations and rallies are planned in New York City, Toledo, San Francisco, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Philadelphia, San Diego, and some other areas.

# N.Y. protests demand 'Day care, not welfare'

By Jean Vertheim

NEW YORK—"They're either going to quit school or quit their jobs and go back on welfare. That's what's going to happen, really. It's going to put massive amounts of women back on those rolls. As a woman and a Puerto Rican mother, I need day care!"

That is how Daisy Sanabria, chairperson of the PRACA (Puerto Rican Association of Community Affairs) Day Care Center sees Gov. Hugh Carey's proposed budget.

While politiciansicker over dollars and cents, thousands of women and



Militant/Jean Vertheim

What will cutbacks do to these children at Association Day Care Center?

day-care workers angrily eye the human cost of more cuts in child care.

On January 27, 200 day-care workers and administrators met to discuss the budget at Columbia University's Bank Street College. Annice Probst of the Pre-School Association of the West Side forecast a shutdown here of up to 130 out of 325 centers. This would deny care and early childhood education for as many as 11,000 children and toss 1,700 day-care workers out of their jobs.

Last summer the city abandoned forty-nine centers. Dedicated volunteers have kept twenty of these centers open, scraping rent money together from raffles and rummage sales.

The New York State budget will maintain the freeze on the family-day-care program. In this program licensed parents care for children in their homes. Since April, 1,600 children have been frozen out of these services and 290 provider-parents have lost their jobs.

New Yorkers haven't seen a penny of the \$240 million that Congress allocated for child care last September. The city and state administrations have been looking for ways to substitute the city's share—\$14 million—for local outlays.

Under the new state budget, day-care centers will be bled dry through the manipulation of federal funds. Carey plans to dip into Title XX money—federal child-care funds—to make up for state cutbacks of up to \$43 million in the foster children program, which by law must be funded.

Too many hands being forced to scoop from a shrinking pot could lead to bickering among victims of the cutbacks over who should get the small funding allocations. The *New York Times* encouraged this when it claimed January 21, "State and local governments simply can no longer afford to pay for the range of human services we've been providing for the past decade."

But many day-care advocates have begun to see through this divisive scheme and place the blame where it belongs.

Speaking to the January 27 meeting, day-care consultant Tony Ward said, "What we have to start talking about is what is happening to the money in this country for social services and where it is going." For instance, he said, corporations in New York City "get lower tax assessments."

The city's direct leases on day-care buildings also show how the rich profit from the cutbacks. The city sold many of these buildings for a song to friends of City Hall. Now New Yorkers are paying these landlords \$300 million on fifteen-to-twenty-year leases.

Naomi Vega, assistant director of Association Day Care Center, told the *Militant* that landlords are still collecting on defunct centers. For instance, even though two of the three centers in the association's building have closed down, the landlords continue to demand the full \$150,000-a-year rent.

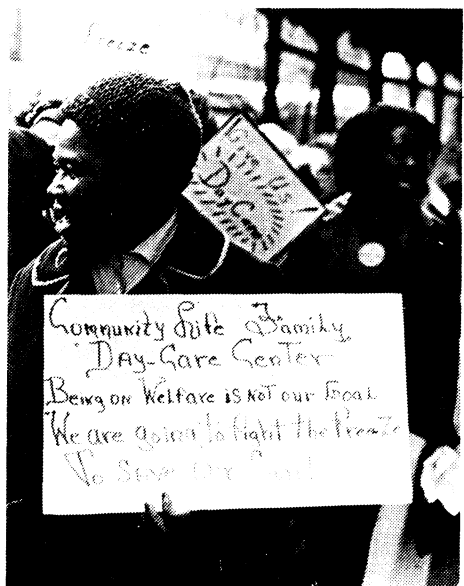
Parents and day-care workers are taking action. The Bank Street College planned a February 8 trip to Albany to attend hearings organized by the Black and Puerto Rican legislative caucus and to lobby legislators.

Catarino Garza, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor, spoke at the meeting in favor of organizing united mass protests against the budget, but warned against relying on the legislators, "who won't do very much, because they're in the hands of the banks."

"As long as the choice is between Democrats and Republicans in the legislature there isn't much we can do," he said.

"The day-care people, teachers, and other workers have to start organizing politically," Garza explained that working people need a party of their own, a labor party based on the trade unions so "we can tell the legislators, 'We're throwing you out and putting our own people in.'"

Garza was one of the 1,500 activists who went to Albany to protest the cutbacks. Three days later 200 angry



Militant/Jean Vertheim

women rallied in front of Governor Carey's Manhattan office against the freeze on family day care. Many demanded, "We want day care, not welfare!"

The new wave of cutbacks is convincing people that assaults on day care are permanent and ever increasing. Even some politicians have been forced to admit this.

As State Rep. Edward Sullivan told the January 27 day-care meeting, "Until recently, I had thought our government leaders were asking us to tighten our belts for a while and then . . . there would be a return to normal."

"The plan under consideration by the executive part of the city of New York and by the banks . . . which are really calling the shots in this area, is that the advances made in the sixties and seventies are unnecessary, that we can do without them."

# N.J. abortion setback

by Helen Schiff

TRENTON, N.J.—On February 17 the New Jersey State Assembly voted overwhelmingly to convene a national constitutional convention for the purpose of giving fertilized eggs the same rights as human beings.

New Jersey became the fifth state to call for an anti-abortion "right to life" amendment through a constitutional convention. Twenty-nine more states are needed to convene such a convention.

Before the assembly vote, more than fifty abortion rights supporters spontaneously threw up a picket line at the state House. They included members of the National Organization for Women, National Abortion Rights

Action League, American Civil Liberties Union, and student groups. Picketers carried hastily made signs and chanted, "Women must decide our fate, not the church, not the state."

Nearby nearly 200 forced-motherhood advocates also demonstrated.

Both groups piled into the chamber balcony as the debate began.

Democratic Rep. Joseph Pater, the bill's sponsor, demagogically argued that a constitutional convention would give the American people a chance to decide the issue. However, polls already show as much as 81 percent of Americans supporting women's right to abortion.

Continued on page 30



By José G. Pérez

President Gerald Ford's New Year's Eve announcement that he would try to make Puerto Rico the fifty-first state has touched off renewed debate over the island's political future, both there and in the United States.

Ford's proposal appears to have no chance of being passed by the U.S. Congress at this time. But it stirred up much controversy and put the spotlight on the unstable and unjust ties between Puerto Rico and the United States.

Puerto Rico is a nation, separate and distinct from all other nations.

The people of Puerto Rico have a common language, cultural heritage, territory, and history. They have a strong sense of identity as Puerto Ricans. They recognize that they have common problems and seek common solutions to those problems.

As a state, Puerto Rico would not be another Virginia, New York, or California. It is a totally different country, not just a region or subdivision of a bigger country. Whatever Puerto Rico's formal political status, there can be no question that it is as much a nation as England, Vietnam, or Argentina.

And just as there can be no question that Puerto Rico is a distinct nation, there can also be no question that it is a colony in the most classical sense of the word—a country that is ruled by another country.

That other country is the United States.

### United States rule

The United States took Puerto Rico by force in 1898. Using at first the most brazen military rule, the U.S. government has gradually granted Puerto Ricans greater control over local administration. All important powers, however, are retained by the United States.

Just a few of the powers under Washington's jurisdiction include:

- Immigration, citizenship, and customs;
- Foreign policy, international trade, treaties, and tariffs;
- Monetary system;
- National defense;
- Postal system;
- All broadcasting, from commercial radio and television to Citizens Band radio;
- Regulation of most businesses and labor unions;
- Environmental protection;
- Regulation of nuclear power;
- Regulation of all shipping and other transportation between Puerto Rico and the United States or other countries;
- ... and many, many others.

Just about every government agency—from the do-nothing Environmental Protection Agency to the repressive Federal Bureau of Investigation and Central Intelligence Agency—functions in Puerto Rico.

The areas left for the Puerto Rican government are roughly comparable to those under state or municipal jurisdiction in the United States: schools,

# Puerto Rico: statehood would continue U.S. colonial rule



Claridad/Miguel Rivera

roads, routine crime, social services. Moreover, all the powers the Puerto Rican government exercises are ceded to it by Congress. And Congress can, at will, revoke them.

Puerto Ricans have no say, control, or veto power over what Washington does to their country. All this is decided by the president, Congress, and federal judiciary. Puerto Ricans don't elect senators or representatives to Congress and can't vote for president.

### Economic subjugation

Washington insists on these tight political controls over Puerto Rico because giant U.S. monopolies maintain a profitable stranglehold over the island's economic life.

The overwhelming majority of all trade, commerce, manufacturing, banking, and farming on the island is owned or controlled by U.S. interests. There is no sector of the Puerto Rican economy where U.S. interests do not predominate.

Each year the profits from these corporations take from Puerto Rico about one-fifth of the island's gross national product—not counting the profits kept in Puerto Rico for reinvesting. This is very good for these giant monopolies.

But it is very bad for the people of Puerto Rico, who suffer from terrible poverty and unemployment.

Already some 2 million of the 5 million Puerto Ricans have been forced to migrate to the United States because there aren't enough jobs on the island.

Most working people left in Puerto Rico can't find full-time employment.

And 40 percent of the potential labor force is totally unemployed, although the official rate is "only" 20 percent. That's because so many people have grown discouraged and given up looking for work. They aren't counted in the official jobless figures.

Wages for those that do have jobs are one-third to one-half those paid in the United States for the exact same jobs.

Yet island prices are higher than on the U.S. mainland because of transportation costs and a greater degree of monopoly pricing.

### Widespread poverty

About 70 percent of all Puerto Ricans are so poor that they qualify for food stamps.

Almost half the housing in Puerto Rico is substandard. Tens of thousands live in shantytowns, where cardboard, tin, and plywood shacks are built on stilts above lake, river, or ocean shores. Often there is no plumbing or sanitary facilities. Waste and garbage are simply dumped in the water or on the beach below the shacks.

Unemployment and poverty have led to widespread drug addiction, crime, and other social problems.

### Statehood: no real change

This miserable situation has worsened over the past several years, and people in Puerto Rico are looking for more power to deal with their social and economic problems.

Proponents of statehood argue that being a state would shore up investor confidence in Puerto Rico's political stability, make the island eligible for expanded federal aid, and give it muscle in Washington.

Supporters of independence counter that statehood would reinforce U.S. economic and political control over the island, which lies at the root of the problems.

What would change if Puerto Rico became a state? Puerto Ricans would vote in presidential elections and elect voting members to the U.S. Congress (right now Puerto Ricans elect a nonvoting resident commissioner to the U.S. House).

But having a handful of delegates in Washington would hardly give Puerto Ricans control over their own country when hundreds of legislators from a different country make up the crushing majority. Nor would voting for president solve anything, since the overwhelming majority of votes would still come from the other country.

Needless to say, the grip of U.S.

monopolies on Puerto Rico would be strengthened, not relaxed, under statehood.

So, in effect, very little of the fundamental relationship between San Juan and Washington would change just its outer coverings.

### What Puerto Ricans want

There is no indication that the people of Puerto Rico want statehood. Ford cited the victory of the pro-statehood New Progressive party in the polls last November as evidence that Puerto Ricans want statehood.

But everyone in Puerto Rico—from all points on the political spectrum agrees that the New Progressives were in spite of, not because of, their pro-statehood stance.

During the campaign, New Progressive supporters argued vigorously that statehood was not an issue, that the issues were government corruption and the incumbent administration's failure to improve the economy. The New Progressives have specifically promised *not* to try to make Puerto Rico a state until after the 1980 general elections.

### 1967 plebiscite

There has been only one referendum in the history of Puerto Rico in which the people of that island were consulted on whether and how they wanted to be linked to the United States.

Proindependence forces actively boycotted the referendum, charging several grounds that it was fraudulent.

- It was not conducted under international supervision. Instead, it was conducted by supporters of the status quo, in violation of United Nations decolonization guidelines.

- It was conducted during U.S. occupation of the island, with both the visible, intimidating presence of U.S. military installations and repression of proindependence forces by Puerto Rican cops and agents of the FBI and CIA.

- It was conducted while U.S. interests dominated all the mass communications media.

### Vague alternative

The referendum counterposed two clearly defined alternatives—*independence and statehood*—to a third, very vague idea of "the further growth of the commonwealth," the present status.

"Further growth" was defined—in a way that could mean all things to all people—as "a maximum of self-government compatible with a common defense, a common market,

## 31% in NY back independence

Nearly one-third of all New York-area residents support Puerto Rico's right to independence, according to a *Daily News* Opinion Poll published in the February 14 issue of that paper.

A sampling of 533 people were asked, "Do you think Puerto Rico should remain a commonwealth, be granted statehood, or be granted complete independence so that it could become a separate country?" The answers were:

Remain commonwealth	31%
Grant statehood	18%
Grant independence	31%
Don't know	20%

Among Hispanics questioned, 46 percent supported commonwealth; 29 percent supported statehood; 21 percent supported independence; and 4 percent said they didn't know. However, since New York's population is less than 20 percent Hispanic, the sample for that part of the poll would have been very small, and the results could differ widely from the real sentiment in the Latino community.

The poll was conducted January 10, 11, and 12, less than two weeks after Ford proposed Puerto Rico be made the fifty-first state.

common currency, and the indissoluble link of the citizenship of the United States."

Voter turnout for the referendum was much lower than usual in Puerto Rico (66 percent compared to a normal 85 percent). Altogether, half the people eligible to vote (registered and nonregistered) did not vote. In addition, an estimated 60,000 North Americans living in Puerto Rico were allowed to vote.

The results of the plebiscite showed 60 percent of the 707,000 people voting in favor of "further growth"; 39 percent supporting statehood; and less than 1 percent—a little more than 4,000 votes—in support of independence.

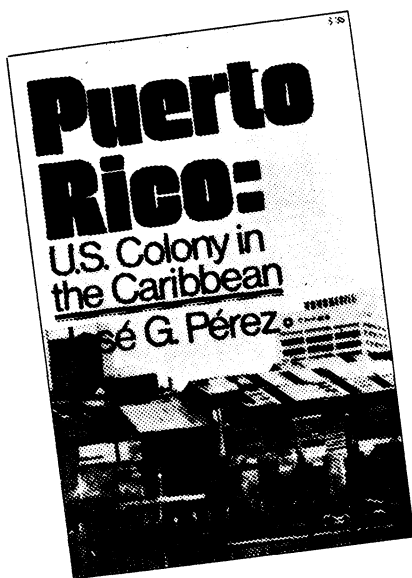
How effective the proindependence boycott was will never be known. But one indication is that proindependence demonstrations over the next few years drew up to 80,000 people. Had these people voted, it is likely no formula would have received a majority.

Washington, however, considers the referendum valid. So what has happened to the "further growth" promised in the referendum? *The U.S. government has rejected every single proposal for transferring more powers from Washington to San Juan.*

In fact, Ford's statehood proposal was his response to the latest proposal to transfer some more powers to San Juan, the "Compact of Permanent Union Between Puerto Rico and the United States."

The U.S. government's actions give the lie to Washington's purported respect for the right of the people of Puerto Rico to determine their own destiny.

The United States government is interested in one thing and one thing only: reinforcing its hold over Puerto Rico in order to ensure superprofits for U.S. corporations.



## PUERTO RICO: U.S. COLONY IN THE CARIBBEAN

By José G. Pérez

What are the facts about Puerto Rico's ties to the United States? This pamphlet provides the answers, including a brief sketch of Puerto Rico's history, its economic exploitation by U.S. monopolies, and its long struggle to assume its rightful place among the independent nations of the world. 24 pp., 35 cents

### Also available:

**Puerto Rico: Freedom and Power in the Caribbean**  
By Gordon K. Lewis  
paper \$6.95

**We, the Puerto Rican People**  
By Juan Angel Silén  
paper \$2.75

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Write for a free catalog.

# Puerto Rican activist explains fight against federal grand jury

Since last November, several activists in Chicago's Puerto Rican community have faced harassment and have been called to appear before a grand jury.

One of these activists is José López, a professor of history at Northeastern Illinois University. He is chairperson of the board of the Puerto Rican Cultural Center and is on the board of directors of the Puerto Rican High School.

Following is an interview with López conducted by Militant correspondents Rod Estvan and Nancy Rosenstock.

**The Chicago Committee to Stop the Grand Jury is organizing support for the defense of those who have been subpoenaed. Those interested in more information on the case can contact the committee by writing care of December 4th Committee, 53 West Jackson Street #1362, Chicago, Illinois 60604.**

**Question.** How did you become involved in the Puerto Rican independence movement?

**Answer.** I have been involved in the Puerto Rican community in Chicago since the late 1960s. We began to struggle for the democratic rights of the Puerto Rican people: for better housing, more jobs, and a good education.

After a time, with the growth of the Puerto Rican independence movement, those of us who were involved in the Puerto Rican community slowly began to realize that the independence movement and the struggle for democratic rights went hand in hand.

We brought together a whole group of organizations to form the Puerto Rican Cultural Center.

Our first major undertaking was a

high school. The school's basic philosophy is that we must have an education that is integrated with the Puerto Rican liberation process.

**Q. What has been the history of grand jury harassment of the Puerto Rican movement?**

**A.** First a grand jury was called in New York [supposedly to investigate the FALN, the Armed Forces of Puerto Rican National Liberation], but they could not find anything and the grand jury was closed.

There has been a second grand jury operating in Chicago since February 1975. The government has been concentrating on Chicago since November, when a supposed FALN bomb factory was discovered in the Puerto Rican community.

In the apartment housing the supposed bomb factory, the police found the letterhead of the Episcopal Church's National Commission on Hispanic Affairs, which is headquartered in New York. At that point a grand jury was called in New York.

Three people have been subpoenaed in New York, and all files of the Episcopal Church's Hispanic Affairs Commission have been subpoenaed.

In Chicago my wife, Myrna, was subpoenaed on November 24. Then four Puerto Rican activists from the South Side of Chicago were served with subpoenas. My subpoena came a week later, around the first week of December.

**Q. Could you describe the harassment that took place while the subpoenas were being served?**

**A.** Immediately after the police discovered what they called a bomb factory, perhaps seventy-five FBI agents and Chicago police came into

the Puerto Rican community. They claimed they were looking for Carlos Torres [who was said to have rented the "bomb factory" apartment].

Torres's father is a minister. They went to his house and threatened him with guns. They said they wanted him to tell them everything he knew about his son's activities.

My brother was served with a subpoena. The police put a gun to his head and said, "You have refused to talk to us. Now you will talk to the grand jury."

**Q. What happened when you came before the grand jury?**

**A.** We put forth a motion to quash our subpoenas, but the judge refused.

On December 15 Myrna and I went before the grand jury and refused to take the oath. We said we would like to read a statement on why we refused.

Instead of letting me read my statement, the prosecutor began to ask questions. The questions were so general that they can get you on almost anything. It is a fishing expedition.

**Q. Where do you stand at present?**

**A.** There have been a total of seven Puerto Rican activists subpoenaed. Court proceedings are continuing against four people, including Myrna and me.

**Q. What is the Chicago Committee to Stop the Grand Jury doing?**

**A.** We have started a petition drive aimed at Samuel Skinner, the U.S. attorney in Chicago, Attorney General Bell, and President Carter.

We have a newsletter and a speakers bureau. Interested people can participate in the petition drive and help explain what the grand jury is being used for.

## Haitians demand asylum

# Judge stops refugees' deportations

By José G. Pérez

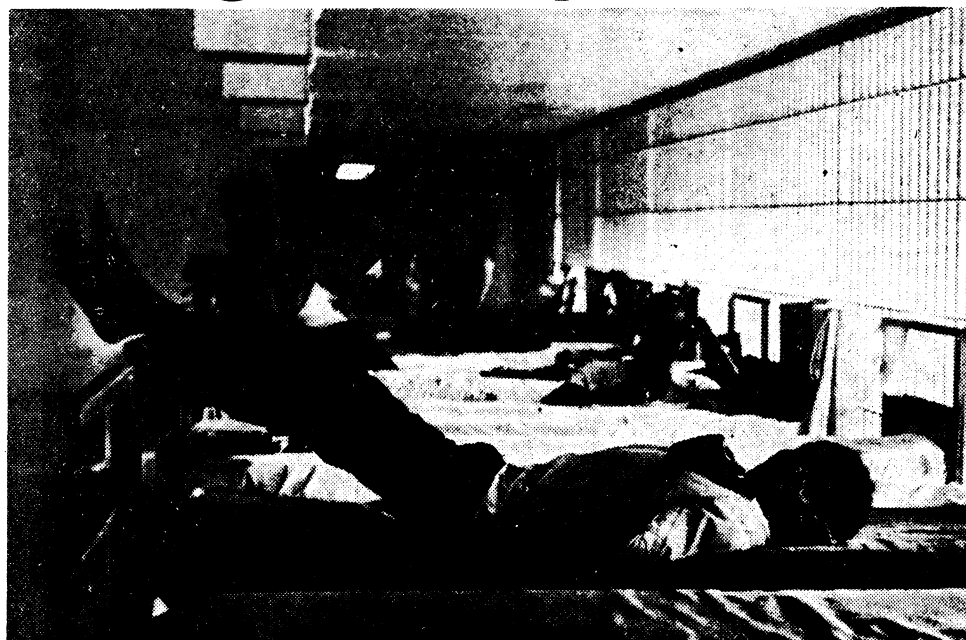
On February 15 a Miami federal judge threw out deportation orders against 280 Haitians who have been in the United States for four years demanding political asylum.

Federal District Judge James King said that interviews conducted by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) immediately following the arrival of the Haitians violated requirements set by both federal law and international agreements. The government had denied asylum requests on the basis of these interviews.

The initial interviews were conducted in summary fashion, often taking less than twenty minutes, including time for translation and recording. The Haitians had no legal counsel during the hearings.

"We were confronted with the prospect of the Immigration Service deporting to Haiti aliens claiming that they would be tortured and executed if they returned, upon procedures that can be described in no other way than as pure sham," said Eric Lieberman, chief attorney for the Haitians.

Lieberman's charges coincide with findings of the House Immigration Committee last July. The committee found government officials had issued "arbitrary denials, based apparently on the socio-economic status of the applicant."



Haitian refugees jailed in Immokalee, Florida. Federal judge says they can't be deported without new hearings.

Some 2,000 refugees could be affected by the decision. Most have been refused work permits and have been forced to rely on charities and on substandard wages from farm labor.

Ninety-five are still in federal jails despite a House Immigration Committee recommendation that they be released pending outcome of their cases.

Haiti is the poorest country in the

Western Hemisphere. The U.S.-sponsored regime of President-for-life Jean Claude Duvalier is widely known for its brutal repression of dissidents.

The INS said after Judge King's ruling that it would ask the Justice Department to file an appeal.

The National Emergency Civil Liberties Foundation sponsored the court challenge to the INS procedures and deportation orders.



## Opens door for discussion of political strategy

# Gotbaum admits support to I

The following is a response by Ray Markey to an editorial by Victor Gotbaum in the February 11 *Public Employee Press*, newspaper of District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. Victor Gotbaum is executive director of District Council 37.

Ray Markey is a member of the executive board of the New York Public Library Guild, Local 1930; a delegate to the District Council 37 Delegate Assembly; and a delegate to the New York City Central Labor Council. He is a member of the Socialist Workers party National Committee.

### By Ray Markey

As head of the city's largest public employee union, Victor Gotbaum has played a central role in shaping union strategy throughout the New York City budget crisis. His editorial in the February 11 *Public Employee Press* is a tacit admission that his strategy has failed.

Under Gotbaum's leadership, District Council 37 accepted a wage freeze, thousands of layoffs, and the gutting of municipal services. No serious fight was put up by District Council 37 or any other union. The idea was to buy time—time to transform the disastrous situation by electing more Democrats.

Elect a Democratic governor. Elect a "veto proof" Congress. Elect a Democratic senator from New York. Turn Gerald Ford out of office and elect Jimmy Carter president. That was the prescription of Victor Gotbaum, AFSCME President Jerry Wurf, and the rest of the union officialdom.

Time, the union leaders hoped, would eventually bring about economic recovery. They promised that the improved economy, combined with their Democratic "friends of labor," would turn everything around for public employees.

All the benefits and jobs "temporarily" relinquished during the budget crisis would be returned, and the unions could move forward in winning new gains for their members.

The economic recovery, such as it was, has come . . . and gone. The Democratic party politicians remain.

All the electoral gains outlined by Gotbaum were won. Democrats control city hall, the state assembly, both houses of Congress, and the White House. What are the results?

### Attacks continue

New York public employees face more layoffs, more reductions in benefits. The people of New York face more massive cutbacks in social services.

Plans are being drawn up to extend the "emergency" powers of unelected budget-butchers for the next *twenty years*—emergency powers designed to

restrict collective bargaining and nullify union gains.

The chief agency directing and implementing all these attacks is the Democratic party. The "friends of labor"—elected with union votes and union funds—not only support the cutbacks but have been among the most aggressive in putting them into practice.

This relentless reality of the past four years has now forced Gotbaum to make a damning admission. The Democratic party of New York State is "a dud," he says.

There is "little to choose" between

the Democratic and Republican parties.

Liberal Democratic Gov. Hugh Carey espouses a "conservative's point of view."

For our union, Gotbaum concludes, "working with the Democrats doesn't seem to have much point any longer."

True, all true. "Working with the Democrats"—more accurately, working for the Democrats—has in fact crippled labor's ability to defend itself against these attacks. Union leaders like Gotbaum have opposed mobilizing the union's ranks and its allies against the cutbacks, since that might jeopardize

their "alliance" with the Democrats.

What alternative does Gotbaum propose? Will he lead the union in a definitive break with the Democratic party? Will he propose using our union's power—in alliance with other unions and the Black and Puerto Rican communities—to launch independent labor political action?

Gotbaum doesn't say. He does say, however, that "this Union has to undergo an agonizing reappraisal as to its political direction in this State."

Good! That's a big step in the right direction.

We need an open, democratic discussion of labor political strategy, a discussion that involves the entire membership. After all, the jobs, wages, and well-being of all union members are at stake. Several steps can be taken right away:

- Time should be set aside in local meetings, or special meetings called, to discuss Gotbaum's editorial and the ideas and proposals of local members.

- The pages of *Public Employee Press* should be opened up for this discussion and made available for AFSCME members to present alternatives.

- A city-wide meeting representing the entire membership could be organized to bring together all the ideas raised in the discussion and democratically chart a new political course for the union.

I know, as a member of AFSCME, that there are ideas and suggestions I want to contribute to such a reappraisal of our union's political policies.

For one, it is not just in New York that our "investment" in the Democratic party "is not paying off," as Gotbaum puts it. The Democratic party is a "dud" on all levels—city, state, and national.

I'm sure that AFSCME members in other states are finding that the Democratic party plays precisely the same role there as it does in New York. They should take note of Gotbaum's observations and begin their own discussions of political strategy.

Gotbaum says the thing that most dismays him about Governor Carey, the thing that marks Carey as an ideological Republican, is his position "that the people were tired of 'big government,' and that it is necessary



VICTOR GOTBAUM

## Garza calls on NYC unions to 'run own ticket'

### By Lee Smith

NEW YORK—"The bankers and ruling rich of this city want to make New York an example of what they can do to the poor and to working people," Socialist Workers party mayoral candidate Catarino Garza told nearly 250 supporters at a campaign kickoff rally February 19.

"The only reason they have been able to get away with the cutbacks and layoffs so far," Garza told the crowd, "is because the people who have been running the unions and other organizations that should belong to us have been unwilling and unable to conduct a real fight."

The union chiefs have put their hopes in the Democrats in Washington and City Hall, instead of in the organized power of the labor movement, Garza said.

He detailed the records of a number of these politicians—from the Carter administration down to local figures, such as New York State Social Services Commissioner Philip

L. Toia. "What's wrong with the soup-line concept?" Toia recently asked, in discussing alternatives to the present welfare system.

"Any workers leader who expects help from that bunch," Garza said, "shouldn't even be trusted to lead workers across the street safely." Such misleaders, he added, "should be retired."

What the trade unions should do, Garza urged, is "run their own ticket in the mayoral election—a union ticket." But the union misleaders are afraid to move forward on a course of independent labor political action, he said. They will choose one of the Democrats now contending for nomination instead, Garza predicted.

That is why working people who want to fight effectively against the New York crisis should vote SWP in 1977, Garza explained. "The SWP will urge working people to organize themselves politically, as a class, to take the power of government and run it to meet human needs."

"Given the opportunity," Garza said, "the people of this city would restore all the cuts in services and add some things. They would stop all attacks on a woman's right to abortion at city hospitals. They would establish bilingual-bicultural education for every child who needs it. They would provide jobs for all at union wages. And they would take over Con Edison—without any compensation to the arrogant owners of that monopoly who have let people freeze to death so they could make more profit."

Also speaking at the rally were: Robert Des Verney, SWP candidate for New York City comptroller; Jane Roland, who is running for city council president on the SWP ticket; and Richard Ariza, from the New Jersey Socialist Workers party.

Pat Wright, an activist in day care workers Local 205, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, spoke in tribute to the ideas of Malcolm X and their

relevance to the Black struggle today. February 21 was the twelfth anniversary of Malcolm's assassination.

Felix Vega-Peña, a representative of the newly formed City-wide Community Coalition and an activist in the struggle to defend New York's bilingual Hostos Community College, brought greetings to the rally. He discussed the need for unity among all victims of the cuts.

The alternative to the policies of racism and oppression being carried out by the parties in power, Vega-Peña said, "is the socialist alternative." He added, "One person among the socialists I know is capable of really doing something is Mr. Garza."

Campaign supporters at the rally responded to a fund appeal by New York SWP leader Peter Buch by pledging more than \$5,000 to get Garza and his running mates off to a good start.



# Democrats is 'dud' for union

REPRINTED FROM FEBRUARY 11 'PUBLIC EMPLOYEE PRESS'

to reverse direction and cut back on government and services."

But the most vocal exponent and prominent practitioner of this conservative philosophy today is Jimmy Carter!

In his editorial Gotbaum still tries to uphold the myth that the two-party system "is based upon the competition between conservative and liberal philosophies. The Republican Party espouses the former; the Democratic Party the latter."

In fact, these parties have no independent "philosophy." Both parties are controlled by the rich. Both parties are committed to upholding capitalist profits. Their philosophy and policies are determined by the political needs of the bankers and industrialists.

And today the overriding need of U.S. capitalism is to make working people bear the burden of the economic crisis. That—not "philosophy"—lies behind the bipartisan attack on our standard of living.

That is what Carter meant when he warned in his inaugural address that "we cannot afford to do everything."

He didn't mean "everything." New York City shows exactly what he meant. He meant decent schools, hospitals, fire protection, public transit, garbage collection, child care, libraries, parks, and so on.

Meanwhile Washington seems to have no trouble "affording" a more than \$10 billion increase in Pentagon war spending.

## 'Competing' with Republicans

Gotbaum warns the New York Democrats that they are making a tragic error in "competing" with the Republicans "on the latter's own turf."

Republicans, Gotbaum says, can "speak realistically" about cuts in personnel and services because they've had "more practice."

But the Democratic party brings something much more valuable than "practice" to the cutback drive. It brings the ability to flim-flam the entire organized labor movement through its political control of the union bureaucracy.

Only by breaking this political control—only by breaking with the Democratic party and launching independent labor political action—can the unions reverse the growing attacks on their members.

The coming election for mayor in New York City is a test of Gotbaum's newfound wisdom. What course does he recommend for AFSCME?

He correctly rules out the Republicans as an alternative.

And certainly a Democrat or Republican masquerading under a phony "independent" label offers no choice.

Will Gotbaum recommend we abstain from the election? That would only leave our political enemies an open field.

Catarino Garza, the mayoral candidate of the Socialist Workers party, has announced that he will make the call for independent labor political action a central theme of his campaign. This points the direction the labor movement must take.

I urge all unionists who agree that "working with the Democrats doesn't seem to have much point" to support Garza's campaign as the first step toward launching a party of labor.

Such support would put the bankers, industrialists, and real-estate barons in this city on notice that the political shell game is over. That the unions are prepared to put forward a social program for fighting all the cutbacks. They are prepared to politically defend the interests of all working people.

To lament that Democrats today look like Republicans is not enough. We have to act on that observation.

## State Democrats: From Here They Look Like Republicans

By VICTOR GOTBAUM

Executive Director, District Council 37

**I**T IS HIGH TIME that those of us who have invested a good deal of our time, our effort, our dollars and our hopes in the Democratic Party of New York State come to the realization that the investment is not paying off; that the party is a dud, lacking both ideology and organization.

Last month Governor Hugh Carey presented a tight fiscal budget that held down overall costs to the barest minimum, and cut back on education, welfare, revenue sharing with the cities and other programs with a positive social direction. With the State experiencing a fiscal crunch not unlike that of New York City, it is understandable that the Governor would present a sparse budget. What was dismaying, however, was the reasoning behind the budget. The Governor took the position that the people were tired of "big government," and that it is necessary to reverse direction and cut back on government and services. He said the private sector would have to do more to absorb certain responsibilities now falling to government, and indeed, people would have to do more for themselves.

This is an honest conservative's point of view. However, it did not come from a conservative. It came from a Democratic liberal. The tragedy is quite apparent. A great historian argued that our democracy's viability is based upon the competition between conservative and liberal philosophies. The Republican Party espouses the former; the Democratic Party the latter. But let's put the facts in perspective for the State of New York: the Democratic Party is now competing with the Republicans on the latter's own turf. On basic concepts having to do with the way we should be governed, there is little to choose between them.

The problem does not stop at the door of the Governor's Mansion. It is deep inside the State Legislature as well. It was quite understandable that the Republicans in the Legislature applauded Governor Carey's presentation. But from the Democrats, and particularly the liberal bloc, there was only a deafening silence. No one rose to criticize the message as a long step backward for the State. No liberal Democrat pointed out that it is totally lacking in innovative proposals for meeting the fiscal crisis while still making certain that the bulk of the sacrifice called for does not fall once again on working people and the poor.

### Cheerleader for Republicans

Meanwhile, Stanley Steingut, the Speaker of the Assembly, announced his discovery of "sunset laws," the newest cliché of the conservatives. These are intended to close down services and agencies of government that are supposedly no longer useful. Mr. Steingut praised this concept of zero-based budgeting in virtually the same language as Governor Carey—"people want less government." Here too, Mr. Steingut was serving as cheerleader for the Republicans.

But we have news for our erstwhile Democratic friends: the Republicans can speak realistically about cutting back in personnel and services because they have had more practice doing these very things. Anyway, that's why the Republicans are elected—when they are elected. This time, however, we elected Democrats. Or did we?

The outstanding Democrat in the State for continuity in office is, of course, Comptroller Arthur Levitt. In

his dealings with the City of New York, he has made the officials of Chase Manhattan Bank look like wild-eyed liberals. He has unleashed on the City his Deputy Comptroller, Sidney Schwartz, who has engaged in a sadistic anti-labor hunting spree. Under Mr. Levitt's guidance, and all in the guise of "prudence," he has demeaned the serious efforts of labor and management to locate areas for greater productivity and savings, and has tarred with a single brush virtually all contract clauses.

It is no accident that while the City pension funds have been used to save New York City and all of its citizens from the disaster of default and bankruptcy, it has been virtually impossible to move Mr. Levitt to a progressive use of the State's pension funds. If the Comptroller were Republican, this would be understandable.

I should add here—quickly—that my distaste for this trafficking by Democrats in Republican areas of competency does not move me to the Republican side. While I am just about ready to give up on the Democrats in this State, you will have to forgive my hesitancy in embracing the Republicans. It hasn't yet come to that.

### Party Virtually Leaderless

But working with the Democrats doesn't seem to have much point any longer. Not only have they divorced themselves from ideology, but they present another peculiarity: they've divorced themselves from any semblance of a viable party. The Democratic Party in New York is virtually leaderless. It has neither direction nor purpose. While Governor Carey in awkward fashion worked to get rid of the old—Party Chairman Patrick Cunningham—he never quite knew how to get on with the new. After some abortive and bumbling attempts, he has finally wound up with Mr. Dominick Barinello as party chairman. It is to Mr. Barinello's credit that he wants funds and staff in order to do a job, but when the titular head of the party, the Governor, has shown a singular disinterest in the party machinery, where is the leadership and the money to come from?

So the final question comes down to this for us in DC 37: How do we use our political clout in the weeks and months to come? It seems absurd for us to continue a monolithic devotion to a party that has shown neither an interest in programs that are of great importance to our members, nor the organizational capacity to carry out programs of any kind.

Is there a better way? This Union has to undergo an agonizing reappraisal as to its political direction in this State. We have made no deals, and are therefore tied to no one. We have played no opportunistic games, and we will not change in that regard. However, when you find you do better when you "lose" than when you "win," you'd better reevaluate your strategy.

We used to joke about the fact that so many of our endorsements fell by the wayside and didn't lead to election victories. It didn't bother us much because we always landed on our feet. Now that some of our endorsements have succeeded, we are still landing on our feet—but the ground is getting very shaky indeed.

You can understand when enemies do it to you. It's these friends of ours that worry me.

# Socialism comes back to Kansas City



## By Dick Roberts

I had been following the Missouri River from the window of the plane as it traced its course from St. Louis to Kansas City, Missouri. And I noticed that the Kansas City airport was a good ways northwest of the city itself.

So—despite the many factories visible in the distance—I already guessed that Kansas City is more spacious, quieter, and cleaner than many other cities in this country.

Paul Schmidlein filled me in as we drove into town from the airport. Metropolitan KC—no one says “Kansas City”—is a spread-out city of more than one million people. It's a major railroad center in the Midwest. TWA has its headquarters here. Other major industries include food, auto, and steel.

Schmidlein told me that there are large Black and Chicano communities in the city. “I believe it's more than 20 percent Black—but we know that 65 percent of the students in the public school system are Black.”

Kansas City was a center of socialist activity in the days of Eugene Debs and remained so through the First World War. But its present vintage of socialism is a much more recent one.

Schmidlein was a founder of the University of Missouri at Kansas City Young Socialist Alliance that grew up during the anti-Vietnam War movement following the break-up of SDS. The Kansas City YSA has been active since the late 1960s, and they had invited me to campus to give classes on Marxist economics.

The real excitement this particular weekend, however, centered on the opening of the new Socialist Workers party headquarters, the first in Kansas City. I was going to

speak at the first Kansas City Militant Forum that night.

Three weeks earlier, a meeting of SWP leaders, called a plenum, held in New York had discussed the progress of the SWP's turn toward new developments in the working class, the opening of SWP branches in many new parts of the country, and the prospects for winning young workers to the socialist movement.

In the past year and a half the SWP has expanded into twenty new cities in ten new states. And as of the plenum, more than 325 people had joined the SWP since August.

Mimi Pichey is the SWP organizer in Kansas City. She told the plenum about the rapid strides of the new branch there as it was preparing to open a headquarters. “People find out about us through sales of the *Militant*,” she said. “And they are joining the SWP because they have gotten disgusted with the Democratic and Republican parties—and in Kansas City, the SWP is just about the only political alternative besides the Democrats and Republicans.”

There's no doubt about it.

About thirty people came to the forum to hear my talk on “Jimmy Carter: What will he mean for working people?” They were Black, Chicano, women, and other working people and students. The kind of people who are beginning to take a serious look at socialist ideas, because in one way or another they see that the capitalist system stands in their way.

Questions and discussion following the speech covered many topics—why the capitalist government can no longer live up to almost any campaign promises, what the chances are of building a labor party, what a revolution

will be like, what will prevent a workers government from turning against democracy as happened in the Soviet Union. Talk went on into the night at a local bar and during the two classes the next day on campus.

## Press coverage

Kansas City papers gave the SWP opening big play.

The *Kansas City Star* declared in its Sunday edition, “A ‘whole new revolutionary leap forward in the Socialist movement’ took place next door to a midtown pizza restaurant this weekend.”

“The leap forward was the grand opening of Kansas City's first headquarters for the Socialist Workers party.”

Two TV stations and local news and radio reporters covered the SWP's press conference to announce the new headquarters.

“Why Kansas City?” they wanted to know.

“Why the specific location—at Forty-seventh and Troost?”

Pichey answered that the location had been picked because it is an integrated working-class neighborhood and is also near the campus. She said that almost 200 subscriptions to the *Militant* have been sold to readers within a two-mile radius of the headquarters and that hundreds of *Militants* had also been sold at nearby street corners and shopping centers.

Pichey's remarks were quoted throughout the weekend by the all-news radio station.

Pichey wrote me soon afterward that “within the first week after the opening, socialist optimism for the spread of revolutionary ideas in this plains city has been borne out.”

“Letters and contributions

from supporters and well-wishers have arrived with every new postal delivery. Working people, curious from the local media coverage, have come by during evenings and on Saturday to find out what we're all about and to purchase *Militants*. On the streetcorners *Militant* salespeople meet with a new response: ‘You just opened a headquarters, didn't you? I hope to come to one of your events soon.’”

## New members

Pichey also sent me some information about three new Kansas City SWP members.

Connie Mistler, twenty-six, is a native of Kansas City. Like many others, she both attends college full-time and works an additional thirty hours a week. During her eight years at Southwestern Bell, Mistler has served as a union steward three times for her local of the Communications Workers of America (CWA). She campaigned for Nixon in 1968 and 1972. But Mistler became disenchanted with Nixon's policies and found herself more and more in agreement with the anti-Vietnam War movement and increasingly sympathetic to women's liberation.

When she started to look around, she decided the Democrats weren't much better, but there were no other alternatives.

Last fall, however, Mistler saw a poster advertising a meeting for SWP 1976 vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid. She called the phone number on the poster, picked up campaign literature, read it, and then plastered her college with leaflets. She came to hear Reid speak and decided to join the SWP at its next meeting.

Bill Bolinger, thirty-four, works on the line at the GM plant in Fairfax, where he has been a union activist since 1962.

Bolinger has always been open to different political viewpoints. He read Marx's *Capital* in the early 1960s, as well as several books on the Soviet Union. In the mid-1960s, a co-worker active in the New Democratic Coalition got Bolinger involved with Democratic party politics. In 1968 he worked for Humphrey and in 1972 for McGovern. It was during the McGovern campaign that he began to have doubts about the aims of the Democratic party and about its ties to big business.

During the 1974-75 “model change” at the GM plant, Bolinger spent his free time in the library researching the Kansas City power structure and finding interrelations between the boards of directors of businesses, local hospitals, and the Midwest Research Institute.

By this time Bolinger was convinced that he needed to find an alternative to the

Democrats. He attended the 1974 YSA convention in St. Louis, and he decided to join the YSA in the fall of 1975.

When the new SWP branch was established in the summer of 1976, Bolinger joined the SWP. He is currently the *Militant* sales director and is confident that the branch can surpass its initial goal of selling 100 *Militants* each week.

Incidentally, during Pichey's interview with Bolinger for this article, one of Bolinger's co-workers passed by the headquarters, saw Bolinger, and came in. And before he left, he bought a copy of the *Militant*.

“The last time I was interviewed was in 1938,” said Boyd Owens, “when I was vice-president of my IBEW [International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers] local and we were preparing to go out on strike. They didn't print any of the important things I said.”

Owens, a great-grandfather, is sixty-eight and an active member of the Kansas City SWP. A lifelong fighter for social change, Owens has often been called a Bolshevik in the course of his union and antiwar struggles. But he had never met an organized socialist movement until the summer of 1976, when he signed a petition to help the SWP win a ballot slot in Missouri. He wrote for more information, subscribed to the *Militant*, and decided to join.

In the late 1930s Owens led a two-year drive to organize



Militant/Mimi Pichey

the Kansas City Power and Light workers into the IBEW and helped lead the subsequent strike to win their first contract.

In 1944 he went into private business for twelve years and then back into electrical construction work here and abroad beginning in 1956. He “retired” in 1970.

Now he regularly sells dozens of *Militants* at Armco Steel, in the Black community—and wherever else he goes. He was also instrumental in renovating the building for the new party headquarters. “I wish I were capable of doing more than I do,” he says.



# World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM  
INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS, A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM

MARCH 4, 1977

## Since breakdown of Geneva talks

# US worried over rising Zimbabwe freedom struggle

By Ernest Harsch

The major imperialist powers have sounded the alarm following the collapse of negotiations between the racist regime of Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith and the Zimbabwean nationalist groups.

British Foreign Secretary Anthony Crosland declared January 12 that the breakdown of the talks could lead to an intensified guerrilla war, military intervention by South Africa, and Cuban involvement on the side of the Zimbabwean freedom fighters. On January 19, one day before Jimmy Carter's inauguration as president, sources in his administration warned of the danger of a "progressive deterioration" of the situation across all of southern Africa.

This is precisely what the imperialists had tried to prevent.

### Washington's strategy

Since early 1976, Washington and its allies have sought to head off a mass upsurge in Zimbabwe that could topple the Smith regime and endanger imperialist interests throughout the region, particularly in South Africa. Their strategy is to delay the Black struggle for immediate majority rule, while at the same time arranging for a negotiated and drawn-out transfer of power and the installation of a Black neocolonial regime.

Commenting in the January 26 *New York Times*, John F. Burns pointed out that a number of American statements on southern Africa "have implied that Washington is attempting to transfer power to black governments that will be submissive to the West and deferential toward American investment."

Kissinger's trip to southern Africa in September and Smith's subsequent promise to accept U.S. proposals for majority rule within two years marked the high point in the salvage operation. However, during the round of talks held in Geneva from October to December, the Kissinger scheme started to unravel. Smith backtracked on

the question of Black majority rule itself and the Zimbabwean nationalist leaders rejected Smith's demand that white Rhodesians control the military and police during an interim regime.

By the time the Geneva talks adjourned December 15, the war in Zimbabwe had escalated and the prospects for a negotiated settlement looked dim.

Speaking at a NATO foreign ministers conference in Brussels shortly before the adjournment of the Geneva talks, Crosland spelled out the dangers facing the imperialists, stating that "if the issue were settled on the battlefield it would seriously lessen the chance of bringing about a moderate African regime in Rhodesia and would open the way for more radical solutions and external intervention on the part of others. . . ."

### More 'shuttle diplomacy'

To stave off such a possibility, Ford and Kissinger joined with the incoming Carter administration and the Callaghan government in Britain to try to get the negotiations rolling again.

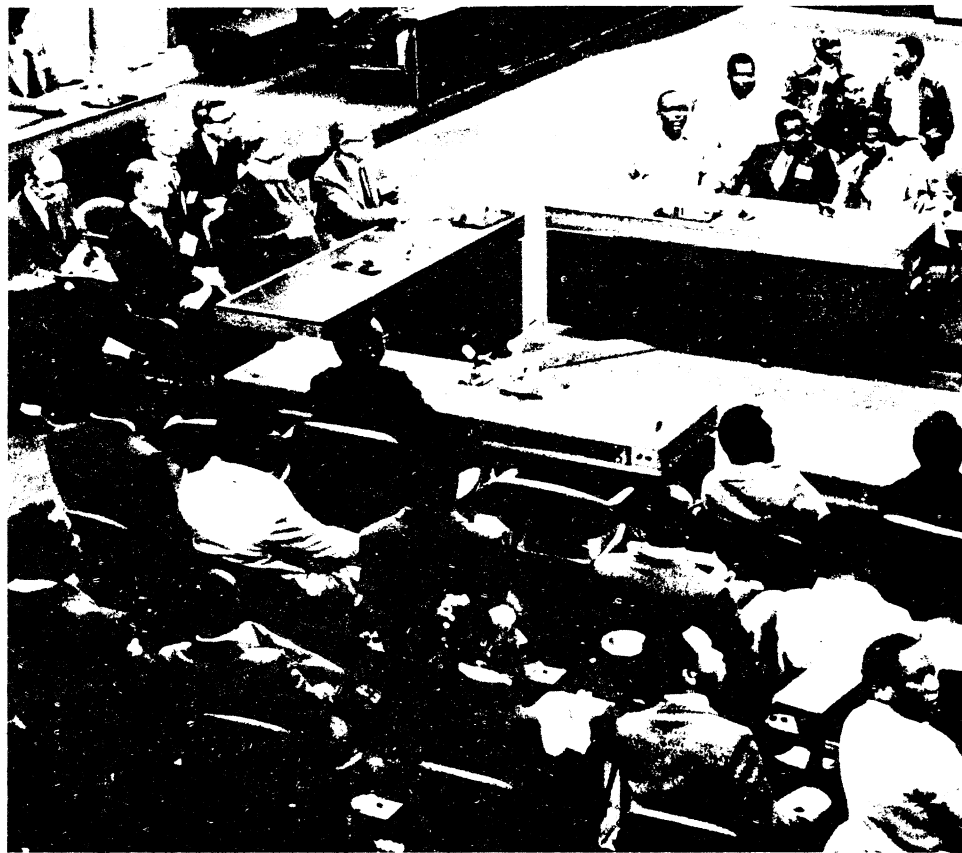
After the NATO meeting, Kissinger met with Crosland; Callaghan; Ivor Richard, the British chairman of the Geneva talks; and Mark Chona, an adviser to Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda. A few days later, John Reinhardt, U.S. deputy secretary of state, and Frank Wisner, director of the State Department's Bureau on Southern African Affairs, flew to London to draft a new set of proposals with British Foreign Ministry officials and Richard.

The new plan called for the direct participation of a British representative to oversee the transition to majority rule (formally, Zimbabwe is still a British colony). If an interim regime were actually set up along such lines, it would put the imperialists in a particularly strong position to influence the establishment of an acceptable Black regime.

Richard revealed December 22 that Washington backed the new British proposals. Carter's designated secretary of state, Cyrus Vance, publicly confirmed this a few weeks later, declaring that Carter gave his full support to the British efforts to bring about new negotiations.

Richard embarked on a tour of southern Africa in late December and during the following weeks met with Smith, South African Prime Minister John Vorster, the Zimbabwean nationalist leaders, and the heads of state of the Black regimes neighboring Zimbabwe. Washington kept in close touch with Richard's attempt at "shuttle diplomacy." Before Richard arrived in Mozambique in early January, William Edmondson, U.S. undersecretary of state for African Affairs, flew in and told reporters that he was in Mozambique "to serve as a point of contact with Mr. Richard and to indicate American support for his mission."

Richard received an initially favorable response from the African regimes most directly affected by the conflict in Zimbabwe—those in Tanzania, Zambia, Botswana, and Mozambique—



Opening of Geneva talks between Rhodesian regime and Zimbabwean nationalists last October.

which are concerned about the impact a wider war could have within their own countries. According to a report in the January 9 *Los Angeles Times*, all four regimes "have indicated guarded support for Britain's efforts to get the stalemated Geneva talks moving again toward a peaceful transition to majority rule. . . ."

President Samora Machel of Mozambique told Richard January 6 that "the armed conflict which now exists in Zimbabwe" could be ended if "mechanisms" were found to bring about a transfer of power. Since many of the Zimbabwean freedom fighters operate from bases in Mozambique, the Machel regime would be in a strong position to halt guerrilla operations if it decided to do so.

Tanzanian President Julius K. Nyerere, who is the chairman of the so-called "front-line" states,\* specifically came out in support of a direct role by British imperialism in an interim regime.

During the Geneva talks, three of the major Zimbabwean leaders—Joshua Nkomo, Robert Mugabe, and Abel Muzorewa—had themselves called for the presence of a British representative in Zimbabwe to oversee the transition period.

### Smith says 'no'

The new British-American proposals were blocked, however, by the continued intransigence of the Smith regime. Claiming that the implementation of the plan would lead to the taking of power by a "Marxist-indoctrinated minority," Smith de-

clared January 24 that Richard's proposals were "unacceptable to the Rhodesian people." He had already indicated that he would reject the plan a little more than a week earlier, when he termed the Geneva talks a "dead duck."

Smith coupled this rejection with an attempt to appear conciliatory. He announced that he would arrange a negotiated settlement of his own with "moderate" Blacks based within the country. According to Rhodesian Foreign Minister Pieter K. van der Byl, the regime in Salisbury hoped that such an agreement would win the support of Washington and other powers.

One possible participant in Smith's proposed settlement talks is the Zimbabwe United People's Organization (ZUPO), which was formed in late December by Chief J.S. Chirau and Chief Kayisa Ndiweni, two former members of Smith's cabinet and long-time supporters of the white minority regime. Another is the Settlement Forum, a group of Black businessmen opposed to the major Zimbabwean nationalist movements. Smith has also made overtures to Abel Muzorewa, the leader of the United African National Council, but with no success.

The collapse of efforts to revive the Geneva talks also caused alarm among both Black- and white-ruled regimes in southern Africa.

Confronted with mass Black unrest within its own borders, Pretoria is afraid that an escalation of the Zimbabwean freedom struggle could further inspire South Africa's Black majority. According to a January 24 dispatch from Cape Town to the *London Times*, "News of Rhodesia's rejection of Mr. Richard's proposals was received with concern in South African official and political circles today. . . ."

Continued on next page



JIMMY CARTER

\*The "front-line" states originally included the regimes of Tanzania, Zambia, Mozambique, and Botswana. But since mid-1976, the Angolan regime has also participated in discussions of the Zimbabwean conflict with the other four regimes.



## ...Zimbabwe: Carter worried over rising struggle

Continued from preceding page

"This is just what the South Africans wanted to avoid."

Citing "senior government sources" in South Africa, a dispatch by Quentin Peel in the January 21 London *Financial Times* reported that Pretoria "is set against any military intervention in Rhodesia, and is still determined to back any chance of a peaceful settlement. . . ." The same sources indicated, however, that the Vorster regime was not yet willing to put further pressure on Smith to come to terms. Since all Rhodesian trade is routed through South Africa, Pretoria could easily force Smith into a new round of negotiations.

### All eyes toward Carter

Burns reported in a January 25 dispatch from Cape Town, "Mr. Richard has sought a fresh meeting with the South African leader, apparently hoping that he will agree to use the threat of economic strangulation to force Mr. Smith into capitulation, as he did during the Kissinger initiative last year. However, the South African, a shrewd politician, is unlikely to agree until he has a fuller sense of President Carter's intentions."

Many of the African capitalist regimes in the rest of the continent are also looking toward Washington. President Kaunda of Zambia called on Carter February 5 to "take the lead" in arranging a negotiated settlement. "We have a lot of confidence in the Carter administration," he said.

Andrew Young, Carter's new representative to the United Nations, made a tour of several African countries in early February. According to him, the common theme raised by about twenty African leaders that he met with was similar to Kaunda's. "What they've said is they want the United States involved," Young declared.

In general, the Carter administration has adopted a public stance of stepping up pressure on Smith.

A State Department representative declared January 26 that Washington would not support any negotiations initiated by Smith that excluded Zimbabwean leaders "associated with the armed struggle." He added, "Negotiations which exclude leaders of nationalist movements will not produce a settlement."

In a January 31 news conference, Cyrus Vance, the new secretary of state, told Smith, "The Rhodesian authorities should understand clearly that under no circumstances can they count on any form of American assistance in their effort to prevent majority rule in Rhodesia. . . ."

On February 10, the Carter administration urged Congress to repeal the so-called Byrd Amendment, which provides for the importation of Rhodesian chrome in violation of U.N. economic sanctions against the Smith regime. The United States is a major importer of Rhodesian chrome.

Explaining the call for repeal of the law, Vance said that the Carter administration viewed "with great concern the dangerous situation in Rhodesia that has arisen out of the attempt of the illegal, minority government to maintain itself in power."

### Smith prepares for wider war

While the imperialist powers are trying to find a way to revive negotiations, the war itself has continued to escalate.

When Smith announced his rejection of the Richard proposals, he said that Salisbury would adopt a "new, tougher line" against the Zimbabwean freedom fighters. The regime's military spent



IAN SMITH: Calls Black freedom struggle 'unacceptable'

ding already accounts for 23 percent of its total national budget.

The period of military conscription, which applies to all white males (as well as Asians and those of mixed descent) under thirty-eight years of age has been extended. Most draft deferments and exemptions have been cancelled and men between the ages of 38 and 50 are now subject to four months of military service each year.

The country's 250,000 whites—who are outnumbered by Blacks by more than 20 to 1—are already thinly stretched and more are leaving every month. So Salisbury has been forced to recruit an increasing number of Blacks into the military, paying them much more than they could earn in a civilian job and even more than white draftees.

As the freedom struggle deepens, however, the reliability of these Black troops could be greatly undermined. The Smith regime has consequently stepped up efforts to recruit white mercenaries from other countries. According to a report by Robin Wright in the December 10 *International Herald Tribune*, there are estimated to be about 400 Americans in Smith's forces, most of whom joined in the previous eight months. Another 1,000 foreigners, mostly from Europe, are also thought to have enlisted in the army and police.

In an effort to isolate the Zimbabwean guerrillas from their base of support among the population, Salisbury has forcibly herded several hundred thousand Africans in rural areas into so-called "protected villages." These are similar to the "strategic hamlets" employed by Washington during its war against the Vietnamese.

The "villages" are surrounded by barbed wire fences and Blacks are only allowed to leave them during the day to work in their fields. Any villager found outside of them during the 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. curfew period can be shot on sight. According to the regime's own figures, 289 Black villagers were killed by Rhodesian troops in 1976 alone. Torture is also widely used against Black civilians.

Reflecting a sharp rise in fighting as the Geneva talks began to stall, the official death toll for December was the highest for any month since the present guerrilla campaign was launched about four years ago.

Since the Rhodesian forces take no prisoners of war, the toll is particularly heavy on the guerrilla side. "Rhodesian law provides the death penalty for crossing the border with weapons of war, and most of the relatively few prisoners that are taken are apparently tried by military courts and

hanged as soon as interrogation is completed," a February 13 dispatch by Burns reported. Most of the executions are carried out in secret. But Salisbury did announce that eight members of Muzorewa's United African National Council were hanged in Salisbury January 17.

The Smith regime has also struck out at Zimbabwean leaders living in exile. On January 22, Jason Moyo, a vice-president of the Zimbabwe African People's Union, was killed by a parcel bomb in Lusaka, Zambia. Nationalists charged Salisbury, which has carried out similar actions in the past, with the murder.

### Raids outside Zimbabwe

Claiming that it has a "right to hot pursuit," the Smith regime has conducted large-scale raids against Zimbabwean camps in Mozambique. In August 1976, Rhodesian forces massacred more than 600 Zimbabwean refugees near Nyazonia, Mozambique, and in late October and early November carried out another invasion of that country, in which it claimed to have killed hundreds of guerrillas.

Since the breakdown of the Geneva talks, there have been several similar clashes. Rhodesian troops backed by jet fighters and light bombers attacked the Chirara and Chitanga areas of Mozambique on December 16 and 17. Rhodesian forces have also, on several occasions, fired across the border or carried out raids into Botswana.

The frequent attacks on neighboring countries have prompted some commentators to speculate that Smith may be trying to internationalize the conflict by forcing the Mozambican regime to call for outside aid, possibly from the Soviet Union or Cuba. According to a report by Burns in the January 6 *New York Times*, the Smith regime "assumes that the introduction of thousands of Soviet-equipped Cubans would force South Africa to intervene. Furthermore, there is a feeling among officials that the Western powers would not tolerate a Cuban role."

Smith, with the help of the Western press, has gone on a campaign to discredit the Zimbabwean freedom fighters. The regime blamed the nationalist groups for a massacre of twenty-seven Black workers at a tea estate in December and for the killing of seven white missionaries in February. In both cases, Zimbabwean leaders charged that Black troops in the Rhodesian army, disguised as guerrillas, had carried out the atrocities. The Selous Scouts, an elite force of Black

and white troops under Smith's direct command, are widely believed to have been involved.

As part of this slander campaign, Salisbury distributed a booklet in late 1976 accusing the freedom fighters of "horrific acts of murder, mutilation and even cannibalism."

### Struggle for majority rule

The Zimbabwean freedom fighters have won growing support in face of Smith's attacks and his refusal to hand over power to the Black majority.

In early 1976, there were about 1,000 guerrillas fighting in Zimbabwe, with thousands more undergoing training in camps in Mozambique and Zambia. By January 1977, a Rhodesian official acknowledged that there were now about 2,000 guerrillas operating within the country. According to guerrilla sources, the figure is closer to 2,500, with another 12,000 men and women trained or still undergoing training. While most of the actions have thus far been launched from bases in Mozambique, freedom fighters have also begun crossing the border into Zimbabwe from Zambia and Botswana.

In preparation for an intensified struggle against the white minority regime, the Zimbabwean liberation movements have embarked on a massive recruitment drive. In December alone, about 2,000 young recruits made their way out of the country across the border with Botswana. In one case in early February, Salisbury charged that guerrillas had "kidnapped" 400 Black students. But when the parents of the students went to see them in Botswana, they were able to convince only 51 of them, most of whom were aged thirteen to sixteen, to return home.

In an effort to weaken Smith's forces, the liberation movements have also begun to carry out propaganda work among Black troops in the Rhodesian army. Leaflets in the Shona language circulated in the southern area of the country called on Black troops to "turn your weapons on the whites." In a report in the December 17 *Washington Post*, Robin Wright commented, "The strategy, revealing a new level of sophistication among the insurgents, could be devastating to the Rhodesian effort to counter the rapidly escalating war, since both the army and police depend heavily on African support."

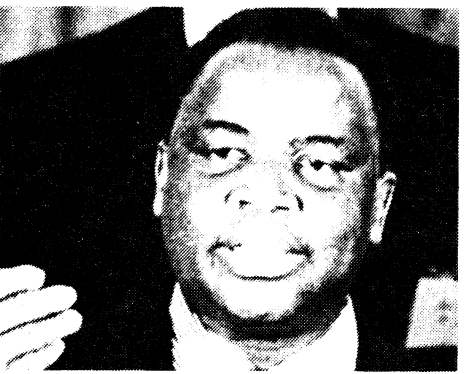
### Patriotic Front

One of the major nationalist forces fighting for Black majority rule is the Patriotic Front, an alliance of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), led by Joshua Nkomo, and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), led by Robert Mugabe. On February 4, the Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) announced its "full political, material and diplomatic support to the Patriotic Front."

Formally, the guerrilla forces of both



Christian Science Monitor



ZIMBABWEAN NATIONALIST LEADERS (from top left, clockwise): Joshua Nkomo, Robert Mugabe, Abel Muzorewa, and Ndabaningi Sithole.

ZAPU and ZANU are united within the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA), which is based primarily in Mozambique. But after a series of armed clashes in 1976 between followers of the two formerly rival groups, most of the ZAPU guerrillas withdrew from the ZIPA camps.

Shortly before ZAPU leader Moyo's death, however, he and Mugabe established a coordinating committee to supervise the reunification of the ZAPU and ZANU guerrilla forces within ZIPA. In an interview in the January 2 *Sunday News* of Tanzania, Mugabe explained, "We are mainly worried about the apartness of our two armies and ZANU and ZAPU are agreed that we must look into the possibility, if not probability, of bringing the two armies together."

While most of the guerrillas now fighting against the Smith regime are from ZANU, the ZAPU forces, operating from bases in Zambia, have also begun to take an active part in military actions. ZAPU also demonstrated its support within the country when about 100,000 Blacks rallied to greet Nkomo in Bulawayo in October.

The bourgeois press in the West has frequently described the leaders of the Patriotic Front as "Marxists." In order to dispel this misconception, Nkomo placed a series of advertisements in Rhodesian newspapers. One of them, in the December 27 *Rhodesia Herald*, explained that although the Patriotic Front was not Marxist, "we have nothing against Marxism, just as we have nothing against some ideologies that are espoused in the Western world."

"The ideology for Zimbabwe may be influenced by the East or the West, or both, but it will be basically a product of the soil, the culture and the traditions of Zimbabwe."

On the Patriotic Front's economic policy, Mugabe was quoted in the January issue of the London monthly *New African Development* as stating that "at least in the short run, Zimbabwe will have to have a mixed economy."

#### Other groups

Although the OAU Liberation Committee has declared its full support for the Patriotic Front, it still recognizes two other Zimbabwean nationalist groups, which it has urged to dissolve and join the front. One is a faction of ZANU led by Ndabaningi Sithole, ZANU's former leader, and the other is Muzorewa's United African National Council (UANC). Both have denounced the decision of the "front-line" states and the OAU Liberation Committee to

channel most of their material aid through the Patriotic Front. They call this political interference in the Zimbabwean liberation movement and an attempt to impose Nkomo and Mugabe as leaders of an independent Zimbabwe.

Muzorewa has frequently demonstrated his group's mass base within Zimbabwe. On October 3, more than 100,000 Blacks chanting "Black power!" poured into the streets of Highfield, a Black suburb of Salisbury, to greet Muzorewa on his return from exile. About 30,000 persons rallied in Highfield December 5 to hear UANC speakers demand universal franchise. And on December 12, when Muzorewa returned from the Geneva talks, more than 200,000 Blacks again turned out to greet him. Muzorewa also claims to have support among the guerrilla forces.

In early December, however, the UANC suffered a split when Rev. Canaan Banana left with several other UANC leaders to form the People's Movement, which has declared its allegiance to Mugabe. Banana was arrested by Rhodesian authorities January 25.

While Smith has indicated his willingness to negotiate with Muzorewa, he has also cracked down on the UANC's activities. A Black newspaper that supported Muzorewa was banned in mid-January, and this was followed a week later by the hanging of the eight UANC members. So far, Muzorewa has rejected any separate negotiations that exclude the Patriotic Front leaders and has demanded that Smith "surrender power to the majority totally and unconditionally."

The increasing polarization of the political situation and the country's growing economic problems, particularly inflation and rising Black unemployment, have led to some of the first signs of open resistance by Black workers against the Smith regime in recent years.

A series of boycotts of buses, taverns, and bread were carried out in the cities of Bulawayo, Gwelo, and Que Que in October and November. Organized by Black citizens' groups and trade unions, the boycotts were called to protest rising prices and poverty wages.

Salisbury's public transit system was paralyzed for five days when 800 Black bus drivers, conductors, and maintenance workers struck work December 24 to back their demands for a larger Christmas bonus. Using emergency regulations that prohibit strikes in essential services, the Smith regime arrested all 800 strikers.

## World news notes

### British 'Troops Out' march

LONDON—Despite the continuing government ban on the use of central London for demonstrations against Britain's military occupation of Northern Ireland, and despite a virulent slander campaign against the Troops Out Movement (TOM), 900 persons marched through west London Sunday, January 30.

The action was held to commemorate the fifth anniversary of the massacre of fourteen civil-rights marchers in Derry on January 30, 1972.

A picket was held in Trafalgar Square earlier in the day to protest the ban on central London marches. The square had been made available for the progovernment Irish "peace rally" last November.

Two nights before the Bloody Sunday anniversary, twelve bombs wracked the main London shopping district of Oxford Street. No one was injured.

Airey Neave, the official Conservative party spokesman on Northern Ireland, and John Biggs-Davidson moved quickly to use the bombings to attack opponents of Britain's continued military occupation of part of Ireland.

In a clear attempt to smear the demonstration on the same day, most of London's Sunday newspapers carried the two MPs' statement. "The latest outrages," they said of the bombings, "justify the universal condemnation of the Troops Out Movement which has the support on the Left of [the] Labour Party and has done so much to encourage the bombing campaign of the Provisional IRA."

As the marchers assembled, Jack Clafferty of the Troops Out Movement said the organisation "categorically denies any connection whatsoever with the bombs which went off in London."

The Troops Out Movement released a statement to the press. The January 31 *Guardian* quoted it as saying: "Every act of violence, be it in Ireland or Britain, is the result of Britain's denial of the Irish people's right to self-determination. As long as British troops remain in Ireland, then so long will there be violence between our respective countries."

### Shell Palestinian camps

For the second day in a row Syrian "peacekeeping" forces in Lebanon shelled Palestinian refugee camps February 11. "Witnesses said today's exchanges were far heavier than yesterday's. They said about 20 mortar shells a minute fell on the Palestinian Sabra camp, the adjoining Shatila camp and the nearby Burj al-Barajnea camp on the southern outskirts of Beirut," the *New York Times* reported February 12.

This is the first time since the Syrian forces completed their occupation of Lebanon that they have openly attacked major Palestinian refugee camps. Until now, the Syrians have operated under the cover of pro-Syrian groups within the Palestinian movement.

### Torture in Ireland

British Attorney General Sam Silkin admitted in a hearing before the European Court of Human Rights February 8 that his government had used five torture techniques in Northern Ireland. Silkin conceded that British troops had hooded prisoners, harassed them with noise, deprived them of sleep, put them on bread and water diets, and made them lean against a wall, off balance with arms outstretched, for long periods.

These forms of torture—and worse—were used by the British against Catholic prisoners in Northern Ireland after the introduction of internment without trial there in August 1971. Popular outrage in the Republic of Ireland forced the Dublin government to take action. A dossier detailing the British crimes was submitted to the European Human Rights Commission, which upheld some of the allegations after a four-year investigation.

Silkin, who claimed that the torture of prisoners had been ended in 1972, promised that his government would not do it again, and urged that the embarrassing court proceedings be dropped.

### Argentine workers protest

The Argentine Labor Ministry threatened economic sanctions against light and power workers February 4. The action came after employees throughout the country in this state enterprise showed no signs of ending a slowdown and selective work stoppages that had been going on since mid-January.

The light and power workers are protesting the Videla regime's attempt to lengthen the workweek for civil servants to forty-two hours. The workers insist on abiding by the collective-bargaining agreement they signed at the beginning of the 1960s, which fixes their workweek at thirty-five hours.

In an attempt to halt the work action, the junta said it will apply a provision of the Ley de Seguridad (Security Law) to make deductions from light and power workers' pay for time lost and reductions in productivity. Meanwhile, the administration of Servicios Eléctricos del Gran Buenos Aires (SEGBA—Electric Services of Greater Buenos Aires) has been trying to turn public opinion against the workers with threats that the slowdown will produce a diminishing in the efficiency of the service "in the near future."

For good measure, SEGBA administrators prepared the way for a witch-hunt adding, "It is difficult to determine if the conflict is being led from inside or outside the company."

## Spain: Will new law open electoral arena to Communist party?

By Gerry Foley

A little more than a week after the "democratic opposition" helped hold back the mass strikes and protests touched off by the murder of leftist figures in Madrid, the government of Franco's heirs made some apparent concessions to the "moderate left" parties in general, and to the Communist party in particular.

On February 8, the government presided over by Adolfo Suárez announced a change in the law on "political associations." The cabinet has been stripped of its power to deny recognition to parties that meet the requirements laid down for registering. This seems to improve the Communist party's chances of being able to participate in the elections for the new "democratic" legislature, now reportedly scheduled for May 30.

However, legal recognition of the Communist party will probably be decided finally in the courts, since in the last days of the Arias Navarro government in June, a law was passed to justify continued exclusion of the CP. It specifically bans any party that "subject to an international discipline, seeks to establish a totalitarian system" in Spain.

In the February 9 issue of the *New York Times*, correspondent James M. Markham reported: "Some political analysts believe that the expected court case might drag on into the spring, when parliamentary elections are scheduled, keeping the Communists from running under their party's banner."

So, the Suárez government's concession to the Communist party is more like a carrot dangled before the CP's nose than a significant gain.

Nonetheless, according to the February 12 issue of the Barcelona weekly magazine *Mundo*, the CP is acting as if it is confident it will be able to take part in the elections, either in its own name or under an independent label:

The CP has an interminable list of deputies. They come from everywhere, towns and rural districts. Three persons whose forte in everyday life is not exactly politics have thrown their hats into the ring. Víctor Manuel, the Asturian singer . . . will run. . . . Another candidate is the Valencian singer Ovidi Montllor, who is also an actor in the theater and in movies. . . . A third candidate is the dancer Antonio Gades. . . .

Besides having a law that can be used to bar CP participation, the



Spanish cops attack demonstrators who called for a boycott of last December's referendum. CP and SP have since backed off from such confrontations with the regime.

government has demanded, and reportedly gotten, special guarantees. *Mundo* reported:

It has been pointed out that in the last conversation between Felipe González [of the SP] and Suárez, one of the conditions posed by the premier for legalizing the PCE [Partido Comunista Español—Spanish Communist party] and for allowing *El Socialista* [the Social Democratic paper] to be published legally and be sold in the bookstores was the promise that under no circumstances would the SP and the CP run joint slates for the congress or for the Senate. "No popular fronts," Suárez reportedly told Felipe González.

If Suárez was ready to make some concessions, in return for strict guarantees, as *Mundo* reported, there were limits to his generosity:

Suárez is not willing to go along with the demand of the so-called opposition to form a "government of broad consensus" to preside over the elections. The military are the most opposed to this idea. The army is the absolute guarantee that the elections are going to be what the supporters of the Political Reform [i.e., the liberalization of the Francoist regime] say they are going to be and not a "break" from the previous regime.

A government in which the fate of the military would depend on discussions among a politically mixed assortment of ministers does not appeal to [Defense Minister and First Deputy Premier] Gutiérrez Mellado and the other brains of the army. So, the only thing left for the Opposition is to accept the Suárez government's formal promise to hold free elections, in which the most they can hope to do is go from being a liberal pressure group "Opposition" to being a parliamentary one, since they themselves do not think they can win.

### Opposition 'unnerved'

Before the upsurge at the end of January, the mass workers parties threatened to boycott the legislative elections, as they did the December 12 referendum on the "Political Reform." The Executive Committee of the SP, for example, said in a December 16 statement:

The government conducted itself in a biased way during the [referendum] campaign—prohibiting demonstrations, detaining opponents, abusing the use of mass communication, et cetera. The promised elections must not develop under similar conditions, or they, too, will be a farce. (Quoted in the *Los Angeles Times*, December 17.)

However, after the Social Democrats and Stalinists backed Suárez's calls for maintaining "public order" in the aftermath of the Madrid murders, they appeared to drop their conditions for participating in the elections.

In its February 5 issue, *Mundo* commented:

The left opposition to the government is still unnerved by the outrage [of the murders]. . . . So much so that it has delivered itself over to the Suárez government bound hand and foot. The fear is so great that the Committee of the Nine [the opposition negotiating committee] is ready to totally accept the elections on Suárez's conditions.

The last resistance . . . has been "overcome" by . . . a few professional assassins, sent by no one knows whom.

### Diplomatic relations

Suárez's apparent concessions to the Stalinists in Spain were paralleled by his opening up diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and other workers states. At the end of January, Madrid resumed relations with Yugoslavia, Romania, Bulgaria, and Poland.

The Spanish CP is particularly close to the Yugoslavs and Romanians, who act as the patrons and protectors of those Communist parties that take a more independent stance toward Moscow.

Madrid has reason to have a special warm spot in its heart for Poland. Polish coal shipments helped it in its efforts to break a strike of Asturian coal miners in late 1971. The shipments were especially helpful since unions in West Europe banned coal shipments to Spain in solidarity with the strikers.

On February 9, the Suárez government opened diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. The Spanish CP announced, according to Miguel Acoca of the *Washington Post*, that it had decided not to object to Moscow recognizing the Spanish government so as to clear the way for more trade to "aid the depressed Spanish economy."

On February 11, police rescued Lt. Gen. Emilio Villacusa, retired former chief of staff of the army, and Antonio María de Oriol y Urquijo, president of the Council of State. They had been kidnapped and held by the Grupo de Resistencia Antifascista Primero de Octubre (GRAPO—October 1 Antifascist Resistance Group). No one was harmed during the operation. De Oriol said he had never felt like a prisoner but rather "like a guest in a rural home."

The GRAPO is portrayed by the Spanish authorities as an ultraleftist group. However, there is no hard evidence as to its politics.

The ban imposed by the government February 9 against publishing news about "terrorist" activities will make it still more difficult to determine what political forces are involved in violent acts.

## Spanish Stalinists outline program

Excerpts from a revealing interview with Spanish Communist party leader Santiago Carrillo were featured in the January 16 *New York Times*.

Carrillo, now living in Madrid after years of exile, complained that "in practice, NATO and the United States apply all possible pressures to insure that Eurocommunists in certain cases are separated from power and in other cases from legality. And one can imagine that if the Soviet Union replaced the United States in these parts of Europe, we would be in exactly the same position."

His interview was apparently an attempt to convince the American State Department of how misplaced its hostility is. For instance, Carrillo declared, "We are for the American bases in Spain as long as an accord is not reached that dismantles the military bases—American and Soviet—in the whole of Europe."

As for NATO, Carrillo claimed to draw the line there, but he insisted

that "if the Spanish Parliament votes entry into NATO, we obviously will accept it."

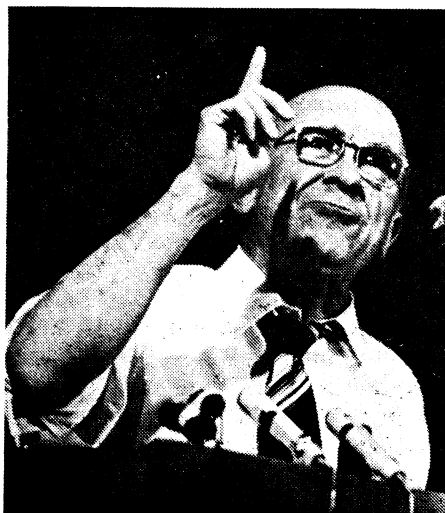
In making such promises, Carrillo was not only casting himself in the role of a loyal opposition within the capitalist framework. He was also articulating the type of deal, built around agreed-upon spheres of influence, that is at the heart of Moscow's détente policy.

But Carrillo also had promises for the Spanish capitalist class. To begin with, he made clear that he would support any moves to improve the competitive standing of Spanish imperialism on the world market. "We are in favor of the entry of Spain in the European Economic Community, and we are in favor of the building of a European economic and political union."

On the home front, Carrillo expressed understanding for the problems of small capitalists. "We think that we have to have a tax system that favors not only the workers but small enterprises, which are passing through a deep crisis in Spain."

This, however, did not mean that Carrillo and the Spanish CP would be hostile to the interests of big capital. "There already exists the National Institute of Industry, which controls a great part of the national industry. So, we think if this institute is democratized—if one truly put it at the service of the nation—I think it would not be necessary in Spain to have more nationalizations in a precipitate fashion."

What about socialism? That was not mentioned. Carrillo explained that "in the short term, we want a fully democratic regime. . . . After, in the long term, we want to start the process of structural, economic change."



SANTIAGO CARRILLO



# Bell attacks busing: 'Court changed law'

By John Hawkins

In a recent interview on the CBS television program "Face the Nation," Attorney General Griffin Bell spelled out his interpretation of recent Supreme Court rulings on school desegregation.

According to Bell, the court's December decision on an Austin, Texas, desegregation plan constitutes a basic revision of school desegregation law.

Bell was asked by a panelist on the program whether the Justice Department would accept school desegregation law "as it is" or pursue a change to prevent "wide-scale, massive busing in the major cities."

Bell responded, "I'm going to accept the law as it is."

But what Bell considers to be the law soon became clear. He explained, "The last administration asked that [busing be limited]; it was done. The Supreme Court has done that. And so far as I'm concerned, we'll leave the law just where it is."

Although the Supreme Court's Austin decision effectively vetoed that city's desegregation plan, it stopped short of placing general limits on the use of busing.

The court instructed a federal appeals court to review the Austin plan in light of a previous high court ruling—*Washington v. Davis*. In that ruling the court said that to prove racial discrimination by government officials, racist intent had to be proved.

Bell based his revision of school desegregation law on the minority opinion of only three of the seven justices who voted to void the Austin plan. The three questioned the extent of busing ordered by the plan.

Bell's swipe at busing will be taken as a statement of sympathy by every racist opponent of school desegregation. The message came through loud and clear—present a good case against busing and the Justice Department will back you up.

In the CBS interview, Bell claimed that the Justice Department has not yet taken a position on the Dayton, Ohio, school desegregation plan that the Supreme Court agreed to review last month.

Although desegregation proceeded last fall without violence in that city, opponents of busing have been encouraged by recent Supreme Court rulings. Bell's statement will only give them further encouragement in their fight to roll back Dayton's busing plan.

One Dayton school board member, Robert Douglass, stated a few days before the Bell interview what the antibusers there are really after.

"As long as they are providing a good education, it doesn't matter if the schools are separate," he said. "Neighborhoods are separate and schools reflect housing patterns, and there's nothing wrong with that."

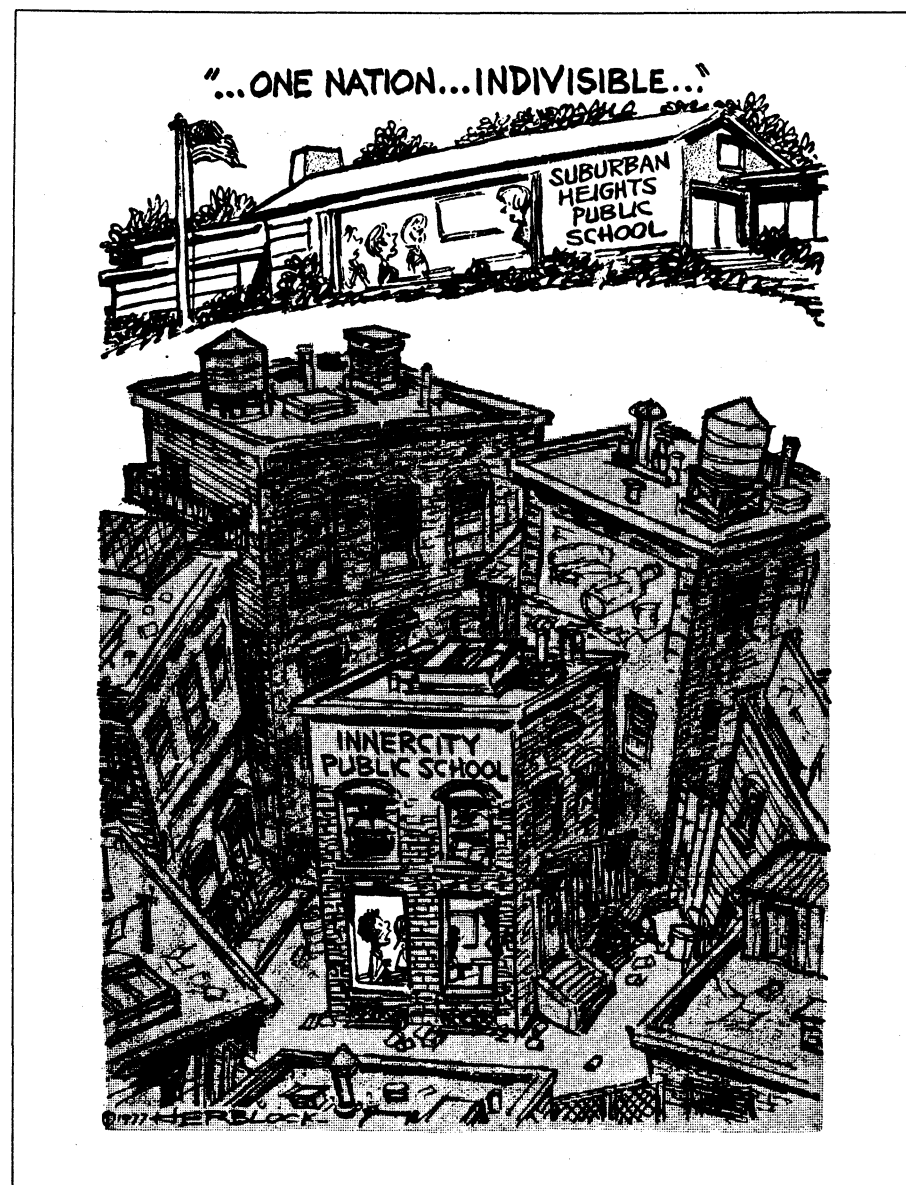
But just *what is wrong* with "separate but equal" schools—which were struck down as unconstitutional by the Supreme Court more than twenty years ago—was spelled out in two reports made public a few days after Bell's pronouncement.

The Chicago Board of Education found that Black students in desegregated schools increased their reading and math levels, while white students' remained the same. These gains are the result of a limited busing plan involving only the Austin area of the city.

Chicago as a whole remains one of this country's most segregated school districts.

A second report, issued by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, blasted the federal government's lack of leadership in school desegregation. The commission called for massive cross-district busing in its "Statement of Metropolitan School Desegregation."

The report criticized the idea that school desegregation should await desegregated housing, which could take many years. It pointed up the arbitrariness of school district boundaries,



which are often drawn and redrawn by state governments to exclude major urban concentrations of Blacks.

"We have concluded," said commission chairperson Arthur Flemming, "that metropolitan school desegregation is a must if the constitutional rights of today's children and young people to equal opportunity are to be upheld."

As Attorney General Bell was attacking school desegregation, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Joseph Califano announced that HEW was reopening six cases of discrimination in the schools. Some of the cases are four years old.

Califano stated that HEW would cut off federal funds to school systems found to be segregated. "The way to insure compliance with civil rights laws," he said, "is to make clear that we will order fund cutoffs if we must."

Taking Califano at his word, a federal administrative judge ruled that Chicago's board of education was discriminating against Black and Chicano students and teachers and that \$80 million to \$90 million should be withheld from the system. Califano, however, must approve the judge's decision before it will take effect.

# Seattle Blacks hit fake desegregation plan

By Zoraida Vazquez

SEATTLE—The U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare is investigating racial discrimination in the school system here. If it finds that the schools are segregated, it could cut off federal funds to the entire system.

At the same time, civil rights groups are demanding prompt school desegregation. The NAACP has requested assistance from its national office in conducting its own investigation in preparation for a lawsuit.

The Seattle school board has responded to these pressures in typical fashion—lots of slick talk with as little action as possible.

During the last two months, Dr. David Moberly, Seattle's superintendent of schools, has made several proposals for what he calls "voluntary desegregation." None of them involves large-scale busing.

"Seattle," says Moberly, "can serve as an example to the rest of the nation that voluntary desegregation can work."

According to Moberly, a federal court order to implement busing here must be avoided at all costs. Otherwise, he says, Seattle could become another Boston.

But antibusing violence in Boston was not caused by the court's decision. The blame lay squarely with racist opponents of Black rights such as

ROAR, who organized to resist lawful desegregation.

Moberly's slick talk is designed to cover up for Seattle's own ROAR—Citizens Against Mandatory Busing, a racist outfit that has been active here since 1965.

The fight for equal education by Seattle's Black community dates back to the 1954 Supreme Court ruling that outlawed school segregation. That year, led by the Seattle Urban League, Black community leaders demanded an end to segregated education.

It wasn't until 1963 that the school board did anything at all to meet the growing demands by Blacks for equal education. And then the board only instituted a Voluntary Racial Transfer Program. At the height of this program during the 1968-69 school year, only 2,400 students were bused—2,200 of them Black.

The Black community opposed this caricature of school desegregation and organized to demand full desegregation. In 1966 the NAACP and the Congress of Racial Equality accused the board of foot-dragging. That same year Seattle Blacks organized a two-day boycott of the schools.

In 1968 the Black community again moved into action. Black residents were angered by an official report showing the Black Central Area schools were inferior. Inspired by the

Oceanhill-Brownsville fight for Black community control of schools in that New York City neighborhood, Seattle's Black Central Area residents formed the Central Area School Council (CASC).

They were able to win some modest control over Central Area schools and the appointment of an assistant superintendent responsible to the CASC. They also won funding for Central Area schools, along with a larger voice in deciding school curricula.

Since 1968 State and local officials and the school board have constantly attacked what control Central Area Blacks have won over the schools there. Today many Central Area residents view Moberly's proposal for a new voluntary desegregation program as another attempt to chip away at the gains they have won.

This suspicion is well founded. The new plan would consist of so-called magnet schools. The plan's underlying approach is inherently racist.

Moberly plans to use academic programs to attract white students to the magnet schools. Vocational programs such as auto mechanics would be used to attract Black students.

Thus, Black students would be tracked automatically into vocational education programs.

Although the school board says the plan is to be implemented in three

phases, it has made no proposals as to what phases two and three will consist of.

In response to the high-handedness of the board, the Central Area School Council recently sponsored a community forum to discuss the voluntary desegregation plan.

The forum was attended by more than 200 people. Most of the twelve panelists were out to sell the school board's plan to Central Area residents. One panelist said, for example, that "desegregation is not a numbers game, it's a state of mind."

An American Civil Liberties Union representative at the community forum echoed Moberly's argument that a federal court order had to be avoided and urged everyone to cooperate with the board's plan.

The only exceptions to this chorus of support for the school board plan were the NAACP, whose representative declined to take a position because of their current investigation, and Oscar Desper, seventeen-year-old student body president at Central Area's Garfield High School.

Desper demanded to know the details of the plan: Which schools will be magnet schools? Who will be able to attend? Will any existing programs at Garfield be eliminated? Will Black teachers be transferred out of Black schools?

Continued on page 69

By Willie Mae Reid

Conditions are bad and getting worse in the Black community. That's the message of the Urban League's second annual report on the "State of Black America."

My previous article (*Militant*, February 18) reported the findings of the league's 107 affiliates about unemployment, education, housing, health care, social welfare, and crime in the Black community.

The report also recommends solutions to the problems facing Blacks in eleven crucial areas. The league calls its total package a new Bill of Rights. It includes the right to jobs, quality education, health care, and economic security—all good demands.

But to put this proposal into action, the report stresses reliance on legislation and government initiatives. It urges Blacks to deepen their involvement in the Democratic party.

This article will discuss the inability of this strategy to bring any fundamental changes in the conditions the report outlines.

### Dodges equal education

Last year's Urban League report called attention to the renewed attacks on the constitutional right of Black students to an equal education. This year the report talks exclusively about quality education—a dodge often used by opponents of school desegregation to avoid the question of equality.

Last year's report condemned the racists' violent opposition to busing in Boston and Louisville. The 1977 report does not mention the continuing attacks on busing and school desegregation.

The 1976 report called President Ford's statements opposing court-ordered busing "unfortunate and ill-timed." The new report praises the two capitalist presidential candidates for not making "busing" and "law and order" issues in the 1976 campaign.

It is no accident that the new report stays away from these issues. It simply reflects the Urban League's top concern throughout 1976: putting a Democratic party president in the White House. In line with that goal, the league has tried to avoid any "hot" issues that might "embarrass" Carter.

### Carter's true colors

The truth is that Ford and Carter appealed directly to anti-Black, antiwomen voters—although the league chooses to ignore these appeals. Both candidates wooed the Catholic church hierarchy by publicly attacking abortion on demand—a right that has life and death importance for Black women.

Carter's "ethnic purity" statements during the campaign exposed his real attitudes toward lily-white schools and neighborhoods. Now he has underscored his opposition to school desegregation by appointing Griffin Bell attorney general.

Bell brings to the position long years of experience in working to avoid enforcing desegregation laws—from the 1954 Supreme Court decision that outlawed segregated schools, to the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which made race discrimination illegal.

Bell now says that the Supreme Court has changed the law on school desegregation and that he can follow the law as he now understands it.

Yet the Urban League did not even publicly criticize Bell's nomination.

### Looking to Democrats

There is a second development the 1977 report considers "positive." That was the ability of a coalition of civil rights and related groups "to formulate and implement a highly successful nationwide non-partisan voter registration and education campaign."

The report describes how some thirty-four national Black groups—including churches, the Black press, Joint Center for Political Studies, NAACP, and the National Urban League—joined together in an "Operation Big Vote" campaign. In addition, the Urban League had its own campaign, called "76 in '76."

# WHAT STRATEGY IN THE FIGHT FOR BLACK RIGHTS? Urban League offers no answers



The outcome of this collaborative effort was a high Black voter turnout on election day. The report estimates that two-thirds of the nation's Black voters went to the polls, where 94 percent cast their votes for Jimmy Carter. This support provided Carter with the winning margin in seven key states.

The report points proudly to "the obvious role [of] the black voter... in helping to fashion the Carter victory..."

But, on the other hand, it says absolutely nothing about the need to mobilize Blacks to protest conditions in our communities.

### Self-reliance ignored

The report does not mention the mass civil rights movement of the 1960s that won the gains under attack today. Those massive demonstrations forced important changes in job, housing, and educational opportunities for Blacks. And it was the Black community in action, together with our supporters, that made that movement succeed.

The Urban League doesn't identify with such an action perspective. Like many other Black groups today, the league aims to work on our problems for us.

The league sees itself as a professional social work agency for the disadvantaged. Its skilled professionals try to negotiate better job, housing, and other opportunities through government assistance programs and business cooperation. Then the league's local personnel deliver these opportunities to recipients in the community.

### Subordinating our power

The NAACP, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Operation PUSH, and a few other Black groups have on occasion used demonstrations as a secondary part of their strategy in pressuring for benefits. But none of these groups see mobilizing the power of the Black community as the key to winning equality.

This approach subordinates the

interests of Black Americans to the needs of the Democratic party. And the Urban League—which totally abstains from direct action—is the most graphic example of the failure of this approach.

The breadth of national Black organizations involved in the "elect Carter" campaign shows just how widely the strategy of dependence on the Democratic party is accepted among Black leaders today. This attitude explains why Black leaders put a clamp on visible demonstrations and protests during an election year.

Even at the height of the mass civil rights movement, Black leaders, in-

cluding Dr. Martin Luther King, called a halt to all demonstrations in order to help put Johnson in the White House in 1964. Likewise, the mobilizations in defense of busing were abandoned by most Black leaders in 1976 to "elect" Democrat Jimmy Carter.

### Independence in action

To solve the worsening conditions in Black America, a high priority must be placed on massive government spending to provide jobs, better housing, and better schools to break the vicious cycle of poverty that exists today.

## Communist party keeps mum

In early February the *Daily World*, newspaper of the Communist party USA, ran a series on the Urban League's "State of Black America: 1977." The report was covered in three articles by Sumner Jones.

Jones reported the Urban League's findings with little comment. He gave an overview of the report, spotlighting the sections on health care, quality education, and unemployment.

Jones did not say one word about the report's strategy of electing Democrats. Operation Big Vote was not discussed at all.

Why? Because the CP agrees with this strategy.

In its main 1975 convention resolution, the CP warns that "there are some who underestimate the movements for Black political independence and political independence generally because they take place largely within the Democratic Party or within its orbit."

The resolution advises that those "public officials who have utilized the Democratic column... are not apt to be misled by advocates of Leftist or premature breaks which separate them from their constituents. Those who have won victories in elections want the independent

formations to advance toward further electoral victories."

And the CP has a history of working in "formations to advance further electoral victories"—for the Democratic party, that is.

In 1976 the CP supported liberal and Black Democrats in many state and congressional races.

In 1975 the *Daily World* gave extensive and positive coverage to William Singer, the liberal Democrat who opposed Richard Daley in the Chicago primary race for mayor.

Coleman Young, the Black Democratic mayor of Detroit, had the CP's support in 1973. A recent *Daily World* article that covered Young's announcement for reelection quotes heavily from his speech with no comment or criticism.

The CP's position in Chicago's upcoming special mayoral election this year, following Daley's death, is reflected in the statement by its Illinois-Iowa District chairperson, Ishmael Flory.

According to the February 11 *Daily World*, Flory "says he may announce his candidacy if there is no Black candidate in the June election after the April [Democratic] primary."

—W.M.R.



It will take massive demonstrations, picket lines, and rallies—organized again and again—to get this message across to government officials in charge of the purse strings. The Black community will have to be mobilized to demonstrate our determination for change *now*. Our success depends on organizing the Black community to act for ourselves and to depend on ourselves.

And the Black community is ready and willing to move. Fifteen thousand people participated in the national probusing demonstration in Boston May 17, 1975. That march, called by the NAACP, slowed the attacks on Blacks by antibusing bigots in that city.

On February 12 this year, 1,600 people came out for a demonstration in support of desegregating Los Angeles schools.

It is through this kind of collective response that the Black community will get jobs, protect our right to equal education, and win decent housing, health care, and many other services.

### Building alliances

Such an action perspective can give the Black community the confidence we need to join with other sectors of the population to fight the attacks on all working people—Blacks, whites, women, men, and students.

Ed Sadlowski's campaign for president of the United Steelworkers of America drew important support among Black steelworkers, as well as among Chicanos and women. That campaign had an impact on other unions too.

Black women marched in Springfield, Illinois, May 16, 1976, along with thousands of other women and men to demand passage of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Black students continue to play a leading role in campus struggles against cutbacks in education funds.

The deepening radicalization of the Black community can also be seen in solidarity actions supporting liberation struggles in Africa. The Urban League report shows that 88 percent of the affiliates found that African liberation held the greatest importance of all international issues for Blacks last year.

### Inspiring

Blacks need an independent organization that will fight for our rights *every day*. The Democratic party can't fill that role, because it is controlled from top to bottom by big business. What we need is a party that bases itself on the power of the Black community—an independent Black political party.

Such a party would mobilize the power of the Black community in the streets *and* at the polls.

Through independent organization, our struggle would be *extended* into the political arena. Our political representatives would be selected by us and accountable to us. Independent Black candidates would speak for the Black community with the support of 25 million people behind them.

The margin of victory that Black support gives to the Democratic party candidates today would contribute to the demise of that party tomorrow.

The labor movement would be forced to change the way it functions, as the membership began to fight for democracy in the unions so that their interests would be represented more effectively. This change would help expose the fundamental division that exists in our society—the class division between the owners and the workers.

It would also inspire the ranks of the labor movement to break with the big-business parties and form a party based on the power of workers—an independent labor party.

This strategy of independent political action points the way forward for the Black community. It—not the Urban League's strategy of relying on Democrats—can begin to win improved conditions in the state of Black America in 1978.

# Where's our landlord?

By Cliff Conner

NEW YORK—"Discovering who owns a building in this city can oftentimes be as difficult as attempting to decipher who the principal stockholders are of America's largest corporations."

That was Michael Winston's conclusion in a fine piece of investigative journalism that appeared in a recent issue of the *Chelsea-Clinton News*, a community weekly here in Manhattan.

"Just as the identities of a business's major equity holders are veiled behind such technical entities as nominees, dummy corporations and depository systems, landlords' names are hidden in a maze of legal records."

So what if you don't know who your landlord is? How can that harm you?

Winston tells us how. He details the woes of residents of two Chelsea-area buildings. These tenants suspect, but cannot prove, that their apartments are now owned by a nearby freight company named Bor-Air. It seems that Bor-Air has already bought and demolished three adjacent buildings, with the ultimate objective of turning the entire block into an extension of their garage.

Bor-Air officials deny owning the buildings. If they admitted it, they might have to pay the tenants something to get rid of them. So it would be to the company's advantage to acquire the buildings empty.

The present residents are understandably reluctant to leave, because their apartments are covered by rent control regulations. Moving would double or triple their rents.

On January 2, a stranger popped up and told the tenants that he was their new landlord. He said he was going to "renovate" the buildings and gave them one month to get out. Since this person refused to show any papers to establish his claim, the tenants suspect that he is a hired strong-arm man sent in by Bor-Air to drive them out by harassment and intimidation.

"A lot of prospective buyers pull this," explained attorney Hanley Diener. "They hire someone who implies he is the owner; the building is vacated and then they close title."

Since the new "landlord" came on the scene, the tenants' problems have multiplied. For nearly two weeks

they were without heat and water. Even after the residents arranged for a visit from the city inspector, conditions improved only slightly:

"... the building now receives heat only six hours a day and the temperature inside oftentimes hovers around the freezing level. Some of the residents are still without hot water. The buildings' hallways are littered with uncollected garbage and the floors are streaked with animal defecations."

In addition to Bor-Air and the mystery man who claims to be the landlord, a check through the labyrinth of official records turned up three other possible owners of the buildings. One of them has been dead for five years. The others, though with less reasonable excuses, are also refusing to answer any questions.

Although unable to prove the Bor-Air connection, curiosity motivated one resident to try to find out who owns that company. He found that Bor-Air's two principal stockholders are Queen Elizabeth of England and Queen Juliana of Holland.



Bor-Air may be new secret landlord

## Shakur on trial

By Willie Mae Reid

From the witness stand on the day celebrating George Washington's birthday, New Jersey State Trooper James Harper identified Assata Shakur (Joanne Chesimard) as the person who fired the first shot in a shoot-out on the New Jersey Turnpike, May 2, 1973.



ASSATA SHAKUR

Harper's testimony did not exactly shape up to Washington's well-known unwillingness to tell a lie. Harper's story showed discrepancies from his earlier reports and statements. He is the star prosecution witness in the New Brunswick trial.

Shakur has been charged in an eight-count indictment in connection with the deaths of Trooper Werner Foerster and Zayd Malik Shakur, one of her two companions in the car.

Clark Squire, the other occupant of the car, was convicted of killing Foerster in 1974 and is serving life in prison.

A team of five attorneys, headed by William Kunstler, is defending Shakur. The trial opened February 15 with an all-white jury of ten women and five men.

Superior Court Judge Theodore Appleby has already shown many times that he agrees with the 70 percent of Middlesex County residents who presume that "Joanne Chesimard" is guilty. Nonetheless, federal judges have refused defense motions that the proceedings be moved out of New Brunswick and into federal court.

Judge Appleby has instructed the court clerk to count the times Shakur does not rise when he enters or leaves the court "so the matter can be dealt

with punitively at a later time." (Shakur's Islamic religious beliefs forbid rising.)

Heavy security procedures have surrounded the trial, whipping up further bias against Shakur. Jury selection took place behind closed doors, and trial proceedings—expected to last four to six more weeks—are being videotaped.

There are no court sessions on Fridays, (the Sabbath for Shakur) pending a ruling by a federal ten-judge panel in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

## Wilmington 10

By Willie Mae Reid

Witnesses to some important events in Wilmington, North Carolina, six years ago have decided to break their silence. That was the year—1971—that nine Black and one white civil rights workers were framed up for assault, arson, and conspiracy in that small, rural town.

Patricia Rhodes, a twenty-six-year-old Philadelphia social worker, is the most recent to break her silence. She joins Rev. Aaron Johnson of North Carolina and Rev. Eugene Templeton, now living in New Jersey.

Templeton and Rhodes are now willing to testify in a new trial that five of the ten, including Rev. Ben Chavis, were with them and others in Templeton's Wilmington home when the arson occurred.

The Wilmington Ten case is being appealed on the basis of new evidence from two prosecution witnesses. Allen Hall, the key witness, recanted last August. In February, Eric Junious admitted he testified against the ten in



REV. BEN CHAVIS

exchange for a job and a minibike given him by Assistant Prosecutor James Stroud.

Imani Kazana, head of the defense committee, told the *Militant* that supporters are being asked to write North Carolina Gov. James Hunt in Raleigh to demand that he release the ten now.

For more information write the Wilmington Ten Defense Committee at 1851 Ninth Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20001; or call (202) 387-3313.

## Moody appeals

By John Gaige

TOLEDO—Paul X Moody will take his fight for freedom to the Sixth District State Court here following denial of his motion for a new trial February 14 by Judge Gale Williamson.



PAUL X MOODY

Moody, a Black student leader at Bowling Green State University and member of the World Community of Islam in the West (formerly the Nation of Islam), was convicted on frame-up charges of attempted rape by an all-white jury last October.

Williamson sentenced Moody to three to fifteen years in the Ohio State Reformatory in Mansfield, Ohio. Moody's bond was increased from \$5,000 to \$10,000.

Nearly seventy-five Bowling Green students joined in a campus march January 12 to demand justice for Moody.

For more information write Paul X Moody Defense Fund, c/o Daa'iyah Rashed, 803 Eighth Street, Apartment 6, Bowling Green, Ohio 43402.



## 'ROOTS': THE BOOK

*Roots* by Alex Haley. Doubleday & Company, New York, 1976. 688 pp., \$12.50.

More than four hundred years ago the first African slaves were stolen from their homes and brought to the Western Hemisphere. They were of many nationalities, spoke different languages, and had diverse traditions and cultures.

These Africans were brought to the Americas for one simple reason: to work on plantations for the profit of their white owners.

To justify their brutal treatment, whites theorized that Blacks were genetically inferior to whites.

These racist ideas remained after the end of slavery. The ideology of racism was (and still is) required to pit poor and working-class whites against Blacks—to prevent them from uniting against the common capitalist enemy.

### Books

In 1977 Black America remains in the grip of racist oppression. As the National Urban League's annual report recently confirmed: the gap between Black and white incomes continues to widen; Black unemployment remains at twice the level of the national average; Blacks continue to live in the worst housing; and they attend the most segregated and run-down schools in the country.

#### Haley's 'Roots'

In this context, the publication of Alex Haley's novel *Roots* adds a moving piece of literature on a subject of immediate concern to all Black Americans: genealogy.

We have always been taught the history of whites and Europeans. But Africans and famous Black Americans only began to get into high school history courses after the rise of the civil rights movement in the 1960s.

Genealogy is especially significant for Blacks since it shows where we are from and why we are in the situation we find ourselves in. This is why Haley's *Roots* represents a major political as well as literary achievement.

Since *Roots* was first published last October, more than 750,000 copies have been sold. According to Haley, 276 colleges and universities, and some high schools, are using the book in courses. Publishers in thirteen countries have bought translation rights.

But the big reason that everybody is talking about *Roots* was ABC's decision to televise an eight-part series on the book. A record 130 million people watched some part of the series. It had an immense impact.

The TV series only roughly followed the story written by Haley. Many TV scenes and characters were not even in the book—the captain of the slave ship and the white night riders, for example.

#### Facts and fiction

Furthermore, the part of the book that is in many ways the most interesting was not included in the television version: the final chapters in which Haley explains why and how he began his twelve-year search for his origins.

Because *Roots* is a novel, Haley takes great pains to explain that the bulk of his story is based on historical documents. "Every lineage statement within *Roots* is from either my African

or American families' carefully preserved oral history," he writes, "much of which I have been able conventionally to corroborate with documents."

"Those documents, along with the myriad textual details of what were contemporary indigenous lifestyles, cultural history, and such that give *Roots* flesh have come from years of intensive research in fifty-odd libraries, archives, and other repositories on three continents."

The length of time it took Haley to verify the existence of his ancestors—their births, when they were sold, and so on—shows the difficulty in learning about early Black history.

Slaves were prohibited from learning how to read or write. Most knowledge on plantation life for Blacks comes from narratives and autobiographies of former slaves, and from the music and folktales that were orally passed from generation to generation.

#### Haley's great-aunts

Haley first learned about his great African ancestor from the stories he was told by his grandma and great-aunts while still a youngster in Henning, Tennessee. This is how he describes their reminiscing:

"The farthest-back person they ever talked about was a man they called 'the African,' whom they always said had been brought to this country on a ship to some place that they pronounced 'Napolis.' They said he was bought off this ship by a 'Massa John Waller,' who had a plantation in a place called 'Spotsylvania County, Virginia.'"

"They would tell how the African kept trying to escape, and how on the fourth effort he had the misfortune to be captured by two white professional slave catchers, who apparently decided to make an example of him. This African was given the choice either of being castrated or having a foot cut off, and—'thanks to Jesus, or we wouldn't be here tellin' it—the African chose his foot.'"

This African was named Kunta Kinte. Now crippled, he was allowed to work at an easy job in the vegetable garden and to live most of his life on one plantation. A quite unusual development "in a time when slaves, especially male slaves, were sold back and forth so much that slave children grew up often without even knowledge of who their parents were."

Haley's great-aunts also told how this African refused to use the slave master's name, Toby. He insisted his name was "Kin-tay."

They said that after he married the house cook, Bell, he had a little girl named Kizzy. He told her stories about his former home in Africa and how he was stolen by slave traders while chopping wood to make a drum.

He also told her about his Mandingo culture and language. He told her they called a guitar a *ko*; and a river near the plantation "Kamby Bolongo." More importantly, he asked Kizzy to promise that she would never forget her African roots.

These words passed through generations to Haley.

#### How Haley verified story

Haley's decision to verify his great-aunts' story came by accident. Twelve years ago, while on a magazine assignment in London, Haley went to the British Museum. There he ran across the famous Rosetta Stone.

This ancient artifact proved the key to translating Egyptian hieroglyphics. Printed side by side on its face was the same text in both Greek and hieroglyphics.

This discovery opened up immense knowledge on early human history.

Haley became convinced that maybe the few African words his great-aunts taught him were the key to the origins of his African ancestor.

Haley's first stop was the National Archives in Washington, D.C. After hours of searching on microfilms of old records, to his amazement he found his great-grandfather's name and birth-date.

This experience persuaded Haley that he could find his roots.

Next he went to the United Nations to see if any of the African delegates would know the meaning of the African words his great-aunts taught him. Stopping delegates in the hallways as they walked by, he repeated the words. Of course, he got nowhere.

Finally, Haley's search led him to an African linguistics specialist who told him the words came from the West African country of the Gambia.

Haley went to the Gambia twice. On his second trip he went to the village of Juffure, where he learned Kunta Kinte was born in 1750, seventeen years before being stolen to America.

#### Family focus

I have one substantial criticism of *Roots*. It flows from the fact that the book focuses exclusively on the individual problems and concerns of Haley's ancestors. The author has almost nothing to say about the big political and social developments in the period that he writes about. Since most of the story is fictional, such material could easily have been included.

For example, there were many slave revolts in the early 1800s. Some of

these are mentioned in passing. But Haley never tells us why Nat Turner organized an uprising.

Were the rebellions correct or not? In the story, Haley's characters take no position.

A similar problem exists with Haley's handling of the Second American Revolution—the Civil War. He discusses it only from the point of view of his ancestors, who play no direct role in the conflict. Haley should have found some way of pointing out that 200,000 Blacks fought in the revolution. They were a key factor in the defeat of the South.

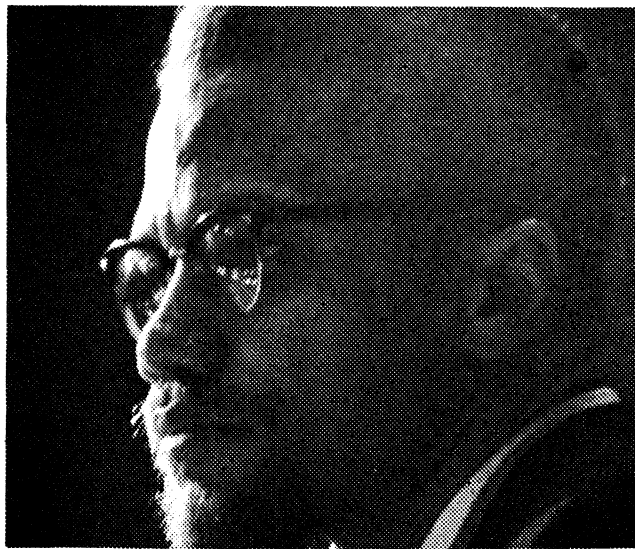
Haley does, on the other hand, repeat the popular myth that President Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863 because he sincerely opposed slavery. The truth is different.

John Hope Franklin explains in *From Slavery to Freedom* that Lincoln's opposition to slavery was tied to his attempts to maintain the "Union." He offered the slavocracy many compromises, which is what the proclamation actually was. It says that slavery will be abolished in only those states rebelling against the union. (Lincoln's real view of Blacks is seen in his earlier proposal that all freed Blacks be colonized in Latin America.)

Haley also fails to discuss the years of Radical Reconstruction (1867-1876) when Blacks played a major role in Southern politics, holding many top government offices. Nor does he write about white terrorist organizations, such as the Ku Klux Klan, that tried to deny Blacks their equality. I assume that even his family faced these problems in Tennessee.

I think that if these features of Black

*Continued on page 30*



#### Malcolm X on Afro-American History

Malcolm X Includes Malcolm's views on African civilizations, the development of slavery, and the need for Afro-Americans to know their own history before they will be able to make their own destiny. 74 pages, paper \$1.25

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Available by mail from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014, or at the bookstores listed in the socialist directory on the inside back page. A free, complete catalog available on request.

# Capital punishment foes plan April 9 march

By Al Budka

ATLANTA—Representatives of more than twenty national and local organizations met here February 15 to make plans for organizing and publicizing a national demonstration against the death penalty. The demonstration is scheduled to be held here April 9.

Those attending the meeting included representatives of the American Civil Liberties Union; American Friends Service Committee; Board of Church and Society of the United Methodist Church; and Board of Corporate and Social Mission of the United Presbyterian Church.

Also, Southern Coalition on Jails and Prisons; Southern Prison Ministry; Socialist Workers party; Southern Organizing Committee; Young Socialist Alliance; North Carolina Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; Catholic Social Services of Atlanta; and Atlanta Student Coalition Against Racism.

Representatives of committees and coalitions to abolish the death penalty came from Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas.

Parents of two Georgia death row prisoners also attended.

Participants in the steering committee meeting agreed to adjust the schedule of the Witness Against Executions over the Easter weekend to give the main emphasis to the April 9 march and rally.

A series of workshops previously planned for the evening of April 8 was rescheduled for the evening of the ninth, after the demonstration. The Easter Sunday sunrise religious service will take place as originally proposed on April 10.

Participants also agreed that the April 9 protest would be a peaceful, legal march and rally. It will gather across the street from Rev. Martin Luther King's grave and proceed through the Black community to the Georgia Capitol steps.

Much of the discussion focused on

the present state of the movement to abolish the death penalty. Several people made analogies with the anti-Vietnam War movement, which used visible protests to win over the majority of Americans although it started out representing a small minority.

A representative of Georgia Christians Against the Death Penalty emphasized the importance of involving the Black community, noting that sentiment against the death penalty was strongest there because Blacks are the main victims of capital punishment.

Although the bulk of support for the protest is concentrated in the South, the steering committee decided to make the protest as geographically representative as possible. Activists say transportation is being organized in several northeastern and midwestern cities.

Those cities that are too far away to send many people to Atlanta are being urged to organize solidarity actions over the Easter weekend.

The meeting elected a seven-person coordinating committee to make final arrangements for the protests.

Those elected were: Murphy Davis, national staff coordinator of the Witness Against Executions; Mike Jendrzeczyk, Fellowship of Reconciliation; Howard Maxwell, Board of Corporate and Social Mission of the General Assembly Mission Board, Presbyterian Church; Joe Ingle, Southern Prison Ministry; Henry Schwartzchild, National Coalition Against the Death Penalty and American Civil Liberties Union; Al Budka, Socialist Workers party; and a representative to be chosen by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

More information on the Witness Against Executions and publicity materials for the April 9 march can be obtained from: Witness Against Executions, c/o Clifton Presbyterian Church, 369 Connecticut Avenue NE, Atlanta, Georgia 30307. Telephone: (404) 373-3253.

## 'No executions!'



About seventy-five people picketed New Jersey Gov. Brendan Byrne's house in Princeton February 19, demanding he veto a death penalty bill passed by the New Jersey legislature January 31. The protest was organized by Princeton Students Against Death and the Trenton Committee Against the Death Penalty. "I don't think the state should be in the business of killing anyone," said Douglas Brown, coordinator of the Princeton Gay Alliance. "It's about as barbaric as you can get."

## 'Death penalty is racist' say Albany speakers

By Diane Shur

ALBANY, N.Y.—Opponents of legalized murder held a community speak-out against the death penalty here November 11.

The meeting was organized by the Capitol District Coalition Against Racism. Speakers included representatives of the Society of Friends, YWCA, and Socialist Workers party, and the chairperson of the Afro-American studies department at the State University of New York, Albany campus.

Signs around the room read, "Capital punishment is Racist" and "Only Poor People Get the Chair."

Nell Stokes, assistant program director of the YWCA and a former candidate for Albany school board, opened the evening's discussion.

"There is no question in my mind that I am opposed to the death penal-

ty," she said. Summarizing the lack of minority representation in judgeships, juries, and the law profession, Stokes pointed out, "The Bill of Rights does not act for all Americans."

Frank Pogue of the Afro-American studies department explained that the death penalty is an extension of the racist inequalities that confront Blacks every day.

Stephanie Brooks, speaking for the SWP, said the death penalty has traditionally been used as a weapon to attack and intimidate labor organizers and political dissidents, such as Sacco and Vanzetti and Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.

All the speakers agreed on the need for an educational campaign and visible protests to help win over more people to the movement to abolish the death penalty.

## Phila. newspaper strike inspires unity

By Hillary Nolan

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 23—A strike against the *Philadelphia Inquirer* and *Daily News* by members of the Newspaper Guild of Greater Philadelphia remained solid today despite court return-to-work orders directing Teamsters and mailers to cross the picket line.

The mailers face individual fines of \$200 a day and fines of \$3,000 a day for the union, but have held firm in their support of the strike. As we go to press the Teamsters are deciding whether to continue to honor the picket line.

Members of the Newspaper Guild struck the *Inquirer* and *Daily News* February 8. Talks broke down over the refusal of publishers to meet demands centered around wages and health care benefits.

The strike has quickly escalated into a major confrontation between the newspaper unions and the newspaper publishers of Philadelphia.

The Newspaper Guild represents 840 reporters, office workers, photographers, and ad and sales department workers at the two papers. Both papers are owned by Philadelphia Newspaper Incorporated (PNI).

The guild is demanding a pay raise that would provide a weekly increase of \$40.01 for workers at the highest pay level. PNI is offering a raise of \$28.50 from which the company wants to deduct \$8.50 in an attempt to pass on the increased cost of health care.

"Their strategy is to get the employees accustomed to seeing a Blue

Cross deduction on our paychecks," said one striking copy editor. "This benefit is something they've covered since the mid-1960s. . . . Well, we intend to stay accustomed to the benefits we have."

The other twelve unions at the *Inquirer* and *Daily News* immediately honored pickets placed by the guild. The Tuesday, February 8, afternoon paper was not distributed. Publication completely ceased by Wednesday.

On Wednesday the *Evening Bulletin*, the third Philadelphia daily, was published under the mastheads of all three papers. The *Evening Bulletin* editor-in-chief, William McLean, publicly stated that the triple logo was part of a "mutual aid agreement" with PNI.

The guild reacted by picketing the *Bulletin* building. The picket line was again honored by other union employees of that paper.

Guild negotiator James Orcutt said, "The *Bulletin* company executives have allied themselves with the PNI in efforts to break the guild strike. The *Bulletin*, in fact, by printing the trimasthead is the *Inquirer* and *Daily News* and, in fact, has put itself on strike."

The guild recently held an organizing election at the *Bulletin* that is still in court. It was declared a tie with five contested votes. The strike has strengthened union support at the *Bulletin*.

One guild picketer explained that some of those who voted against the guild had not seen it as a union that

would fight for its demands. "While it's true this is the first Philadelphia guild strike in nineteen years, we've proved that we can shut down all the papers in the city."

Nonunion employees and management continued publishing an abbreviated edition of the *Bulletin*. But Teamster Local 628 and the Newspaper and Magazine Employees Union, representing mailers, refused to distribute the papers. They were sold only in the lobby of the *Bulletin* building.

The newspaper owners then went to Federal District Judge Herbert Fogel charging that the mailers were violating a no-strike clause in their 1975 contract by refusing to cross the picket line.

The unions maintain that a show of support on the part of their members—honoring another union's pickets—does not constitute a strike and is not in violation of the contract.

Fogel ordered Teamsters and mailers back to work at the *Bulletin*. He threatened the mailers with loss of a \$25,000 bond plus fines unless they returned to work at all three papers.

Fogel ordered the Teamsters to binding arbitration, which ruled February 21 that they must return to work at the *Inquirer* and *Daily News*.

Because of the court decision regarding the *Bulletin*, the guild decided to end picketing at that paper.

Union lawyers are looking into the possibility of impeachment proceedings against Fogel for refusing to withdraw from the case on conflict of

interest grounds. A clerk on Fogel's staff is the son of Creed Black, the editor of the *Philadelphia Inquirer*. In the past, Fogel has been Black's personal lawyer.

Recent information on the "mutual aid agreement" among owners has exposed it as covering much more than multiple mastheads. It also provides for the use of features and columns that the struck paper would normally run, the possibility of assuming the other's circulation, and a sharing of all expenses and profits during a strike.

The guild charges that this agreement creates a monopoly in the Philadelphia newspaper industry. The guild filed antitrust actions in federal court against the owners of all three papers on February 16.

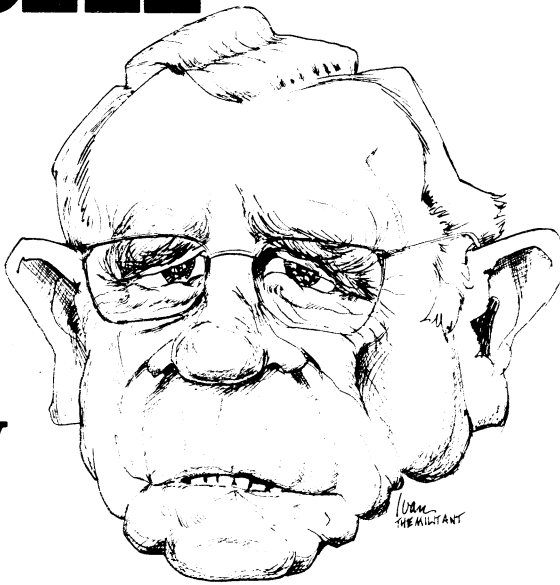
Later the same day, the *Bulletin* announced it would no longer print with the *Inquirer* and *Daily News* logos. They offered no explanation for this sudden change of heart.

This strike appears to be setting a new tone of solidarity among the newspaper craft unions, which are under attack from profit-hungry publishers all across the country. Craft-union divisions have led to a series of crushing defeats, including the one at the *Washington Post* last year.

The Philadelphia guild members plan to set a precedent in winning their demands. One member said, "We owe it to the others who have come out in support of us to stick it out until we win. Our success will make it easier for the next union coming up for talks."

# SOCIAL DEMOCRATS TAKE ON SADLOWSKI

## 'New America' echoes fears of union bureaucracy



I.W. ABEL

By Frank Lovell

One of the by-products of the election for president of the United Steelworkers, held according to plan on February 8, is an article about the campaign in the December 1976 issue of *New America*, publication of Social Democrats, USA.

Social Democrats, USA (SDUSA) is an organization of professional apologists for the trade-union bureaucracy. They used to call themselves the Socialist party, but dropped that name in 1972 to make it clear they are neither socialists nor a party. Their party is the Democratic party, specifically its right wing.

Bayard Rustin, a functionary of the AFL-CIO-subsidized A. Philip Randolph Institute, is among the prominent public representatives of this peculiar breed. He spends most of his time condemning the demands of Black workers for minority hiring quotas or for alteration of discriminatory seniority systems.

On March 31 George Meany will be the honored guest at the annual Eugene V. Debs Award Dinner sponsored by SDUSA. This is their yearly public demonstration to prove they are capable of any distortion.

SDUSA jumped into the steelworkers election with both feet in the camp of the entrenched bureaucracy represented by retiring President I.W. Abel and his designated successor Lloyd McBride.

The contribution of these sycophants was aimed mostly at discrediting challenger Ed Sadlowski rather than defending McBride. What they say about both candidates tells more about Social Democrats, USA and the narrow mentality and fears of the union bureaucracy than anything else.

They are especially interested in the opinion and esteem of the employing class and its publications. The labor editor of *Business Week*, John Hoerr, is quoted by *New America* for his overall appraisal of the difference between Sadlowski and McBride.

Sadlowski, according to Hoerr, draws "outside" support from radical and left-wing groups. "McBride, in contrast, is a liberal Democrat who would continue the policies instituted by Abel, though in a more open fashion."

The charge of "outside" support was to become one of the main props of the McBride campaign, as if the steelworkers union ought to be a closed corporation sealed off from all social and political influence except that exerted through the union bureaucracy by the steel trust, the Democratic party, and SDUSA—in descending order of power and importance.

### No-strike deal

The Social Democrats, USA, next to the steel industry, came out as the most vigorous defenders of the Experimental Negotiating Agreement, which outlaws strikes in basic steel. Their arguments for it are those supplied by the industry: that it protects against foreign steel imports, reduces unemployment, and guarantees steady work.

None of these claims have been realized during

the three years of ENA. The steel industry is still crying about foreign imports and seeking tariff protection for higher domestic prices. The steelworkers are suffering permanent high unemployment. There is no guarantee on the job against "temporary" layoffs.

An additional virtue of ENA, according to *New America*, "is in allowing strikes over local issues, including the vital area of work rules, where such a strike would not be considered a violation of the master contract."

The benefits of this "right" under the overall ENA no-strike agreement are belied by the backlog of grievances in the steel mills and the substandard working and health conditions there.

Sadlowski says steelworkers ought to have the right to vote on ENA and on their contracts. *New America* is dubious, citing the danger that members might vote down such agreements. The current setup, it says, shows the advantages of "representative democracy" over "direct democracy."

### 'Problem' of young workers

The Social Democrats, voicing the fears of complacent union officials, seem to fear most of all Sadlowski's appeal to the ranks of the union.

"Sadlowski's target," they say, "... is not those generally considered the union's activists or militants. His campaign is aimed at those of the rank and file who do not attend union meetings or participate in union activities. This group includes many younger members who have had little or no union experience. It is estimated that one-third of the USWA membership is under 30. Those whose major union activity is to pay their dues traditionally offer a reservoir of potential protest and anti-leadership votes in Steelworker elections."

To the category "younger members who have had little or no union experience" can be added Black workers, Chicano workers, women workers, unskilled workers, low-seniority workers, and all other workers who are discriminated against and kicked about by the steel corporations.

It is small wonder that these workers are not in the habit of attending union meetings. Rarely is anything ever said or done at these meetings about improving their jobs or wages. Few of them ever get a chance to serve on union committees that could protest (and perhaps improve) unsafe and unhealthy working conditions. They have never had more than token representation, and the only time they are asked to come to the union hall is when some perennial job-seeker asks them to come down to cast a vote for him.

So what is wrong with appealing to these workers for support in the effort to democratize the union and transform it into an organization that protects their interests and gives them a voice?

The Social Democrats, USA, see this as a "problem," not the *solution* to the problems the union now faces with renewed attacks from the employers. They rely upon the labor editor of *Business Week* to formulate this problem for them:

"Has the USW changed rapidly enough over the decades to satisfy the yearnings of the union's better educated, younger steelworker to have more of a voice in decision-making?"

*New America* answers: "McBride is aware of the problem and has proposed the creation of a special union department for new members, who come in at the rate of 15,000 per year."

This must be a deliberate misunderstanding. The young steelworkers are not the problem. The problem is with the union and its present leadership.

How can the power of the union, which must be fueled in large part by young workers, be mobilized to win higher pay, better conditions, and more jobs? That is the problem.

### 'Middle-class liberalism'?

The Social Democrats say: "Sadlowski does not talk in the programmatic and concrete 'bread and butter' terms of traditional labor leaders, but instead of the vagaries of process—indicating an absence of program with a working class thrust: 'We want change . . . the transformation of the system . . . an end to bureaucracy,' and so on. In this classless analysis he is closer in rhetoric, emphasis, and priorities to the New Poles of affluent middle-class liberalism."

The Social Democrats are enraged because Sadlowski raises social and political demands such as reduce the war budget, clean up the environment, provide jobs for all, and so on. These demands, they think, are not for workers. "Sadlowski's appeal is attuned to the biases of the liberal and radical intelligentsia and their camp followers who hate the average plumber, let alone the unaverage ones like George Meany."

Liberals are not the only enemies of "unaverage" plumbers that Sadlowski appeals to, according to the Social Democrats. He also appeals to radicals, including the Socialist Workers party and other "totalitarian elements."

In response to an article in the *Militant* on the purpose of red-baiting and how to expose it, *New America* asks: "What is wrong with democratic movements self-policing to eliminate totalitarian elements? Why wouldn't it enhance a reform movement's appeal and promote true reform?"

The experience of "self-policed" unions under the bureaucratic heel is living proof that this promotes reaction, not reform. That's what's wrong with it.

The Social Democrats have a reputation to maintain: the enemies of Communism, defenders of Capitalism. "Sadlowski will be hard-put to evade such questions," they warn. "The Socialist Workers Party Presidential candidate, Peter Camejo, was quoted in the *Pittsburgh Press* as saying, 'We support Ed Sadlowski one hundred percent, although he's not a socialist. . . .'"

"That support is seconded by every other authoritarian leftist group trying to latch on to discontent in the Steelworkers, except for the Maoist sects. . . ."

"But the Communists—unlike the left-wing sects which are fighting a losing battle to build a strong base in the USWA—have only one purpose: to oust the Steelworker leadership whose strong anti-Communist role inside American labor and political life is a thorn in Moscow's side. Thus, the Communist Party, with a narrow agenda, is more able to gain entry into the mainstream of the campaign against the Abel leadership."

There you have it, wrapped up in a few sentences. The Social Democrats' version of a plot hatched in Moscow masquerading as the fight for democracy in the steelworkers union.

### Fear of employers

Behind this fantasy lies the material interests of the giant corporations and the fear of the union bureaucracy that a clash with the employers will destroy the steelworkers union and their privileges with it.

The Social Democrats have this fear in their bones. Like Abel they look for a way out and embrace the "solution" offered by the steel companies.

"The only area that Sadlowski can point to where the union is foregoing the use of strikes," they say, "is in basic steel. Here defenders of Abel and the McBride ticket argue that the U.S. steel-producing companies' desire to halt the mounting inroads of foreign-produced steel has given the union a *greater instrument of leverage than the strike* for attaining greater benefits for steelworkers." (Emphasis added.)

They hope for a trade-off with the corporations—union support of monopoly pricing and protectionist policies in exchange for small concessions and peaceful labor-management relations.

There is nothing new in this, certainly no "leverage." But it is the key to the steel negotiations as they are now being conducted by Abel-McBride in the wake of their election "victory."



# Exiled Panama dissident will tour U.S.

By José G. Pérez

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) announced February 22 that exiled Panamanian activist Miguel Antonio Bernal will tour several U.S. cities during the second and third weeks of March.

Bernal is an outspoken opponent of U.S. occupation of the Panama Canal Zone and of the repressive policies of Panamanian dictator Gen. Omar Torrijos.

Bernal was exiled from his native Panama in February 1976. The Panamanian government has maintained an absolute silence on the reasons for Bernal's deportation. But Bernal says "it is clear that I have been sent into exile from my own country because I defended publicly the rights of the Panamanian people against U.S. imperialism, especially in relation to the canal."

Government threats against Bernal began after he led a 5,000-strong demonstration in front of the American embassy in Panama in September 1975.

At this demonstration, an officer of the State Security Police threatened Bernal's life.

Bernal publicly denounced this threat. He insisted on his right to speak and protest, while the government demanded that he "not exceed the limits. . . ."

USLA executive secretary Mike Kelly told the *Militant* that Bernal "is a prominent political personality in Panama." Kelly said Bernal had been a radio commentator for Radio Impacto in Panama and editor-in-chief of the monthly magazine *Diálogo Social*. He also was a professor of law and political science at the University of Panama.

Bernal is currently international news editor for *El Sol de Mexico*, that country's second-largest daily.

Kelly said Bernal will be speaking in New York; Boston; Philadelphia; State College, Pennsylvania; Washington, D.C.; and Miami. After his U.S. tour, Bernal will speak in Puerto Rico.

Kelly said Bernal will speak on "Repression in Panama—Behind the Canal Zone Dispute." Despite the Panamanian government's leftist image in some circles, Kelly said, it refuses to fight for full U.S. withdrawal from the Canal Zone, and it victimizes people who do demand a total pull-out.

The Panama Canal Zone is a ten-mile-wide and fifty-mile-long strip through the heart of Panama. The United States acquired it through threats of military intervention in 1903 and has run it ever since.

The zone contains fourteen U.S. military bases and the infamous Escuela de las Americas (School of the Americas), the "antisubversion" training camp run by the U.S. government for Latin American military despots. Two of its graduates are Gen. Augusto Pinochet of Chile and Gen. Jorge Rafael Videla of Argentina.

For the past few years the zone has also housed the Agency for International Development's International Police Academy. That academy was moved from Washington, D.C., after revelations that among the courses taught there is one on how to conduct torture.

More information on Bernal's tour can be obtained from: USLA, 853 Broadway Room 414, New York, New York 10003. Telephone: (212) 254-6062.

# Partial victory in cable TV strike

By James Roman

OAKLAND, Calif.—Members of Communications Workers of America Local 9455 returned to work January 31 at Focus Cable TV after a seven-month strike in which management unsuccessfully tried to smash their union.

The strike began last July 7. It involved ninety members of Local 9455, including installers, technicians, maintenance workers, and office workers. Nearly all the strikers are Black or Chicano.

Early in the dispute Focus Cable, with the aid of its parent company, Teleprompter Corporation, launched a vicious union-busting campaign.

The company spent more than \$50,000 on attorneys and private guards and nearly \$100,000 more on a private detective agency to break the union. Trained company strikebreakers and subcontractors were brought in from as far away as Texas. Doberman dogs, provocateurs, assaults on picketers by supervisors, and death threats phoned to strikers' homes were among the tactics employed.

FBI agents harassed strikers after the company falsely charged that the union and its members were involved in a fire that destroyed a warehouse. The union denied the charges and has sued the company for libel.

Local police, cooperating with the company, arrested more than a dozen strikers on phony charges but stood by as supervisors assaulted picketers and scabs intentionally ran into them with their vehicles.

After several weeks of demonstrations by the union, the courts issued an injunction limiting picketing to two strikers.

In the face of this concerted attack Local 9455 was able to mount an effective defense.

Throughout the strike, union militants spoke at scores of union and campus meetings explaining the nature of the strike and their demands. These demands included improved wages and safety conditions, stand-by pay, sick leave, and an affirmative-action program.

The local launched a boycott campaign and opposed a rate increase requested by the company. Focus Cable lost nearly 40 percent of its subscribers during the strike and was fined more than \$900,000 for violating its franchise agreement with the city of Oakland.

The local was also successful in exposing the company's failure to provide adequate service to customers. The union was able to force the city council to deny the company a requested rate increase for ninety days—a move that cost them some \$250,000 in lost revenue.

The strike was endangered, after four months of struggle, when the international union held secret negotiations with the company. Representatives from the local were excluded.

The strikers voted by more than two to one against this bureaucratic maneuver, rejecting the proposed settlement agreed to by the international and the company.

The local also tried to get support from local Democratic politicians, including U.S. Representatives Pete Stark and Ronald Dellums. All these politicians, however, had received large campaign contributions from major cable TV stockholders or the California Cable Television Association and remained "neutral" throughout the strike.

Although many of the initial demands of the strikers were not met, the final terms of the settlement did include wage increases from 8.5 percent to 12.5 percent in the first year of the contract, improved safety controls, an improved holiday schedule, a \$150 return-to-work bonus, and other fringe benefits.

More important than these final modest gains is the fact that the largest cable TV company in the country—with the aid of the local police, the FBI, the courts, and Democratic politicians—was unable to crush the strike.

The struggle is continuing with three strike leaders unjustly fired upon returning to work for activities during the strike. The local is fighting these firings. It has also publicly stated its intention to continue opposing the company's requested rate increase—now before the city council again—and make this a central issue in the city elections this spring.

The local has also reaffirmed its intention to pressure the city council to require the company to negotiate a comprehensive affirmative-action program.

# ...issues facing Texas steelworkers

Continued from back page

Black, Chicano, and women steelworkers continue to face racist and sexist discrimination, despite civil rights legislation that has forced the companies to institute affirmative-action programs and hire some women and minority workers.

Hughes Tool Company is a good example. Minority and women workers there are harassed inside the plant. They are forced into the hardest and lowest-paid jobs, where their work, their "attitude," and even their appearance are closely examined and criticized.

Often Hughes induces these workers to quit by promising to place them on a "retention pool" from which they will be called back when a more "suitable" job opens up. Few if any from this list ever reenter the plant.

Discriminatory practices have been challenged in a lawsuit filed by Hughes workers charging the company with violations of the Equal Employment Opportunities Act. Building a strong, united steelworkers union in District 37 will require uncompromising defense of Black, Chicano, and women workers by the union.

## Industry-wide bargaining

Of major interest to steelworkers here is the upcoming oil tool conference, which is expected to propose an industry-wide bargaining conference. Industry-wide bargaining would greatly increase the union's strength and pave the way for uniform, higher wages and better conditions in the oil tool plants.

Workers have been told, however, that they would lose the right to vote on their own contracts in such an industry-wide bargaining arrangement. In other industry conferences in the USWA, such as basic steel and can manufacturing, only local union presidents vote on proposed contracts.

Local 1742 has already passed a

resolution putting itself on record in support of the membership's right to vote in any future bargaining conferences.

Democracy—including the right to vote on contracts, officers, and even staff—is seen by many steelworkers here as a basic issue. As one active supporter of the Sadlowski slate put it, "We've got to force the union to serve us, and we can't do that without having a voice."

## Strike fund

Contracts at several large oil tool manufacturing plants expire this year, starting with Hydriil Company in March. The possibility of strike action is on the minds of many steelworkers.

An adequate strike fund can do much to ease the hardships of a long strike. The district has a strike fund, financed out of the members' dues, but little is known about it. The district leadership should take advantage of the convention to report fully to the ranks on its administration of this fund.

All three states in District 37 have "right to work" laws that prohibit the union shop and weaken the labor movement as a whole. Hundreds of shops and thousands of workers who should be organized are still outside the unions.

A massive organizing drive to win these workers to the union and win contracts at their plants would strengthen the steelworkers and the entire labor movement.

This district convention has the opportunity to act boldly in providing leadership for the district's steelworkers.

The most pressing problem is the need to answer the attacks of Hughes Tool Company with a strong, united defense of the victimized workers. It is the responsibility of the union leadership to back up the men and women on the job who stand up to the employer and demand their rights.

The Steelworkers Fight Back movement will stand by these workers. What will the official district leadership do?

## The Fight for Union Democracy in Steel

By Andy Rose

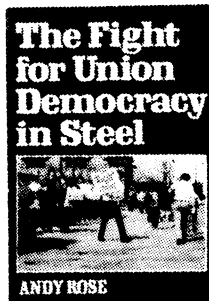
Tells about the background to Ed Sadlowski's campaign, lessons from the history of the CIO, and questions facing all working people today. 40 pp. 50 cents.

## A Struggle for Union Democracy

By Ed Heisler

Tells about the Right to Vote Committee of the United Transportation Union—how it was organized, how it won a mass following among railroad workers, and what it was able to accomplish. 47 pp. 75 cents.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014



# ...CIA

Continued from page 3

Citing a "knowledgeable CIA source," *Daily News* correspondent Joseph Volz reported that among the other recipients of CIA money were former West German Chancellor Willy Brandt and Kenyan President Jomo Kenyatta. According to Volz, "The source said that the funds given by the CIA to Brandt went into the treasury of West Germany's Social Democratic party. . . .

"Kenyatta reportedly received about \$50,000 a year from the CIA for his personal use and, later, was given an additional \$50,000 per year to distribute to his aides."

In addition, Volz reported, former South Vietnamese dictator Nguyen Van Thieu received "millions directly" from the CIA, as did Lon Nol in Cambodia. Also named by Volz's source as recipients were President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaïre; Archbishop Makarios, the president of Cyprus; Guyana Prime Minister Forbes Burnham; the Dalai Lama, an exiled Tibetan religious and political figure; and Chiang Kai-shek, the late president of Taiwan.

Binder, in his *New York Times* account, reported that "intelligence officials" had also named former Mexican President Luis Echeverría Alvarez, Venezuelan President Carlos Andrés Pérez, Angolan guerrilla leader Holden Roberto, former Chilean President Eduardo Frei Montalvo, former South Korean dictator Syngman Rhee, former South Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem, former Thai Police Chief Phao Sriyanond, and former Philippines President Ramón Magsaysay.

# ...Va.

Continued from page 9

upcoming elections and backed up its endorsements with \$50,000. In the Fifth District, TOP is supporting Frank Gilbert, a candidate who has openly declared his opposition to collective bargaining for public employees. Gilbert is also against busing.

The other major contender for the Fifth District seat is Democrat Dr. Randy Johnson. Johnson is emerging as the candidate who will be endorsed by the Crusade for Voters, a predominantly Black organization that works to turn out the vote for candidates it endorses. For example, the Crusade for Voters backed Democrat Jimmy Carter for president in 1976.

"Johnson," Pennock says, "has no answers to the problems Black people face. What does he say to the 70 percent of Richmond's teachers who are Black when they come to him and say, 'We demand collective bargaining?' I'll tell you what he said at one recent meeting. He said, 'Collective bargaining is out of my hands. It's in the courts. What can I do?'"

Pennock is telling the working people and Black community in Richmond that there is something they can do: support and join the Socialist Workers party, a party with a strategy for how to defend the interests of the oppressed in Richmond and across the country.

# ...abortion

Continued from page 13

Rep. Peter Schapiro argued that the bill is "nothing more than a step back to backroom butcher abortions" for poor women.

The most dramatic point in the debate came when Rep. Alina Miszkiewicz stated: "I am a Catholic, but I don't feel I have the right to dictate to others. A person can do what they

want with their own body. I am not God, and I don't have the right to impose my views on anyone."

While legislators in Trenton debated women's fate, more than 100 Black and Puerto Rican students attended an abortion debate at Essex County College in Newark. The majority of the audience supported legal abortion. Twenty Black women signed up to join the New Jersey contingent in the march for women's rights in New York City March 12.

# ...Seattle

Continued from page 23

community schools? These questions went largely unanswered by Bill Maynard, chairperson of the board's desegregation committee.

In an interview with the *Militant* after the meeting, Desper said that the Garfield student council will invite a school board representative to explain the board's proposal at a special school assembly. If the students don't like what they hear, he said, they will call a one-day strike.

"We want Garfield to remain majority Black," he said. "We have teachers here who share our concerns and we want them and ourselves to remain here."

"The school board talks about quality education and bringing in white students to bring that about. But my answer to them is give us the same amount of money and we'll make our school just as good if not better than the white schools."

The school board hopes to shove its sham program down the Black community's throat. But given the past militancy of Central Area residents in the fight for equal education, that will be no easy task.

# ... 'Roots'

Continued from page 26

history had been woven into Haley's story, the book would have been much stronger.

I also have some criticism of the way Haley portrays Kunta Kinte's life in Africa. In general, the picture of the young boy growing up in the Gambia is much too romanticized. The television version was even worse in this respect.

Many readers and TV viewers were probably surprised to learn that Haley's ancestors were of the Muslim faith. Haley, however, doesn't indicate that this was unusual. Islam, like Christianity, was brought to Black Africa from the outside. Neither made great inroads.

Lastly, Haley doesn't discuss why Kunta's people did not fight the invading *toubobs* (white slavers). There was resistance throughout the period of the slave trade and colonization of Africa, particularly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

In concluding *Roots* Haley writes that he hopes "this story of our people can help to alleviate the legacies of the fact that preponderantly the histories have been written by the winners."

The major lessons of *Roots* are contained in that closing comment. For *Roots* explicitly shows how the "winners" tried to destroy the history of a people, and implicitly why the "losers" have continued to fight for their dignity and freedom.

This is why I strongly urge that *Roots*'s companion story also be read: *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, which Haley finished twelve years ago, before the assassination of Malcolm X in 1965. The *Autobiography* explicitly shows how this racist system politically, economically, and psychologically brutalizes Black Americans today.

—Malik Miah

# Calendar

## BALTIMORE

**A WINNING STRATEGY FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS.** Speaker: Rhonda Rutherford, member of Philadelphia NOW and SWP. Fri., March 4, 8 p.m. 2117 N. Charles. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

## BOSTON: FENWAY-SOUTH END

**THE FUTURE OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS.** Speaker: Jeannette Tracy, founding member of Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, member of SWP. Fri., March 4, 8 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., Fourth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4620.

## CHICAGO

**THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.** Speaker: Tsietshi Mashinini, South African exile and leader of Soweto student rebellion. Sat., March 5, 2 p.m. Shiloh Baptist Church, 4840 S. Dorchester. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Student Coalition Against Racism. For more information call (312) 663-1894.

## DALLAS

**THE STATUS OF WOMEN 1977.** A panel discussion on the state of the women's movement today. Fri., March 4, 8 p.m. 2215 Cedar Crest. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (214) 943-6684.

## HEMPSTEAD, N.Y.

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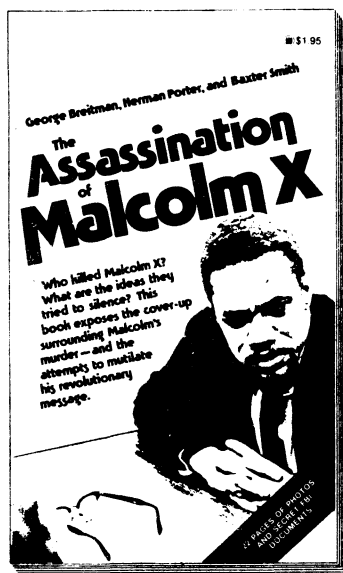
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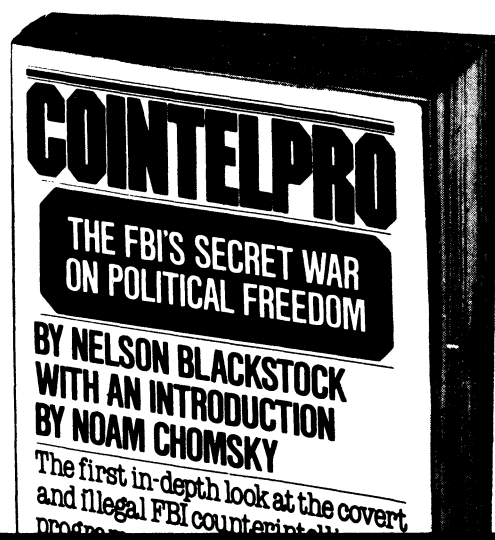
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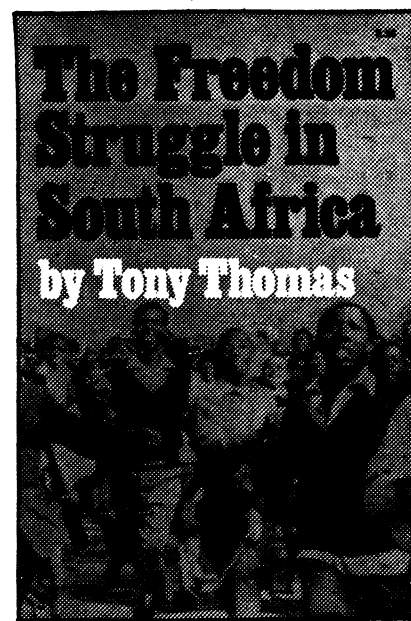
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# THE MILITANT

## Calls for new election

# Sadlowski charges steel union vote fraud

By Michael Gillespie

CHICAGO—Ed Sadlowski, insurgent candidate for president of the United Steelworkers of America in the February 8 election, has filed a comprehensive challenge charging widespread violations of the union constitution and federal labor laws.

Sadlowski is demanding that the international union hold a new election.

Lloyd McBride, the candidate of retiring President I.W. Abel and the union bureaucracy, claims a victory of 324,531 to 238,152 votes over Sadlowski.

Union election rules mandate that all local union tally sheets and all protests to the election must be filed within ten days after the balloting.

The challenge was filed February 18 by Sadlowski supporter Ben Corum, the campaigner who was shot while leafleting Hughes Tool Company in Houston last summer.

In the protest brief Sadlowski attacks the ten-day protest limit as "having no rational basis." He states that "it is impossible to uncover, investigate, seek information from frightened witnesses, and detail the situation in 5,400 local unions in a ten-day period, and to do so even prior to receiving a list of the 'official' results for each local."

The twenty-nine-page protest is divided into two sections, dealing with preelection and election day violations.

Fourteen different varieties of violations are cited in the preelection section. These include McBride campaign use of union facilities, funds, and personnel; campaigning on union time by staff representatives and union officials; padding of union payrolls with temporary McBride campaigners; and fraudulent nominations from local unions.

Sadlowski also charges that the international union denied his right to poll watchers by failing to comply with court orders directing it to supply him



Militant/Stu Singer

ED SADLOWSKI: 'There is a cloud over the election processes of our union.'

with the voting times and places of hundreds of local unions.

The insurgent candidate also cites nine incidents of violence, ranging from harassment and beating to attempted murder in Corum's case. These occurred from last July to election day itself.

The second section, detailing violations on election day, lists the different kinds of fraud and examples of where these occurred. It also notes that "a thorough investigation will demonstrate that the violations in these examples were endemic throughout the election." Violations include:

- ballot box stuffing in six locals,
- unofficial tallies with more votes than certified

members in five locals,

- zero or near-zero votes for Sadlowski in fifty locals where this is clearly not credible,
- no secret ballot in twenty locals,
- campaigning in polling areas in fourteen locals,
- harassment of poll watchers in twenty locals, and
- improper notice of voting times and places in nine locals.

In conclusion, Sadlowski wrote the international union tellers, "There is a cloud over the election processes of our union. You have the power to remove that cloud by calling for a new election." He challenged the tellers to put aside their "official family loyalty" and judge his protest fairly.

The five international tellers are now supposed to investigate Sadlowski's protest. They have extensive authority under the USWA constitution to interview witnesses and conduct field investigations.

The decision of the tellers is due by May 1. Then the international executive board, consisting of the top officials of the bureaucracy, reviews it before the new officers are sworn in on June 1.

The union bureaucracy is virtually certain to reject Sadlowski's protest. He can then appeal to the federal Labor Department—which cooperated with the Abel-McBride machine's cover-up of vote fraud—or finally try the prolonged and costly avenue of relief through the federal courts.

Sadlowski's challenge, whatever its prospects for success, is important in erasing the "clean as a whistle" image the union bureaucracy and Labor Department are trying to give this election.

The returns indicate that where Sadlowski had few poll watchers, as in the Deep South and parts of Canada, massive vote fraud occurred. Sadlowski's challenge is putting that fraud on the record for all to see.

## Issues facing Texas steelworkers

By Marc Shaver

HOUSTON—On March 2-3, delegates from locals of the United Steelworkers of America in Texas, Arkansas, and Oklahoma will gather in Houston for a convention of USWA District 37.

District 37 includes nearly 40,000 men and women in more than 100 local unions. The largest concentration is in

*Marc Shaver is a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 2228 at Texas Electric Steel in Houston.*

the Houston area, where more than 12,000 USWA members work in such diverse industries as basic steel, can, and oil tool manufacturing.

The district conference offers an opportunity to discuss the real needs of the membership and how to fight for them. Here is a summary of some of the big issues facing District 37 steelworkers:

### Antiunion attacks

Local 1742 at Hughes Tool Company, the largest of the area's oil tool manufacturers, has come under heavy attack in recent months as the company has fired union activists on flimsy, trumped-up charges.

The local's newly elected president, W.R. Morris, has been fired twice and barred from company property in the union-busting drive.

David Riehle, a Local 1742 member and active organizer of the Steelworkers Fight Back campaign in District 37, was among those unjustly discharged.

"Firings are going on all the time out there," Riehle reports. "They're trying to scare people away from the union." Antiunion "right to work" laws in Texas prohibit the union shop, and some 900 of the 3,600 workers at Hughes do not belong to the union.

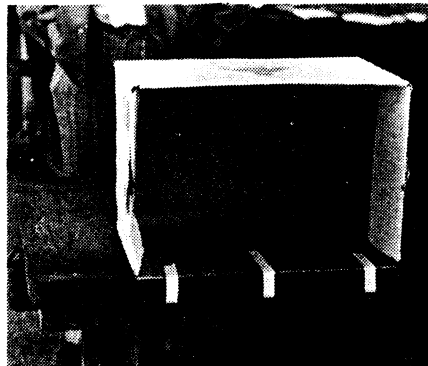
Firings have not been confined to Sadlowski supporters. Chuck Stover, a supporter of the McBride slate, was victimized as well. Still another local member was fired for "possession" of a petition protesting the firings.

Hughes has evidently chosen this way of announcing a tough position in the upcoming contract negotiations. If Hughes can weaken or destroy Local 1742, it will encourage similar attacks on the USWA and other unions throughout the area.

Local 1742 has appealed to the entire labor movement for support. A response to this appeal should be a top priority of the district convention.

*Continued on page 29*

## 'Secret' ballot?



Militant/Stu Singer

HOUSTON—What you see above is the facility provided at Quality Electric Steel Casting Company for union members to mark a "secret" ballot—in a room full of pro-McBride local officers and staff.

Failure to assure a secret ballot, campaigning by McBride supporters at the polls, attempted intimidation of Sadlowski poll watchers, and other election-day violations have been reported in many plants.

The union leadership also failed to provide Spanish-speaking tellers at some locals with large Chicano or

mexicano memberships.

Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that District 37 vote returns show a big margin for McBride—80 percent, according to pro-McBride union staffers.

Ed Ball, formerly a lawyer on the district staff, won the district directorship in an uncontested election.

The district staff, from the director on down, went all-out to defeat the Steelworkers Fight Back slate. Staff representatives took advantage of their presence at local union meetings to make speeches attacking Sadlowski.

Sadlowski campaign activists, including this writer, were approached individually by staffers trying to talk us into supporting McBride. Right-wing attacks, threats, and red-baiting were heavily relied upon by the McBride campaigners here.

Nevertheless, at least two Houston-area locals went for Sadlowski—Local 16000 at Ethyl Chemical Company and Local 2126 at American Can Company.

—Marc Shaver